FRENCH-CANADIAN NOVELISTS ON THE DEFENSIVE

A study of the disintegrating influences at work on nineteenth-century French-Canadian society, as portrayed in the novels of the period.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

"Chez nous, écrire, c'est vivre, se défendre, et se prolonger." (Abbé Groulx,)[1]

There is one characteristic of French-Canadian literature which immediately strikes the reader: its militant nature. Here is a national literature in the strictest sense of the term, marshalling its forces for the preservation and perpetuation of clearly defined national ideals. Numerous books and articles have been devoted to the illustration of this fact. Little attention, however, has thus far been given to the methods employed by French-Canadian writers in their literature of propaganda. Abbé Groulx, in the statement quoted above, has made a significant distinction. French-Canadian literature has a dual function: it must not only "prolong" the existence of national values, but also "defend" them against disintegrating influences. There are thus two approaches to be noted: one direct, positive, and inspirational; the other indirect, negative, and cautionary. It is with the latter that this study will concern itself. Against what disintegrating influences have French-Canadian writers felt it their duty to warn their

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1. Groulx, Abbé Lionel, Dix Ans d'Action française.

readers? What relative importance have they attached to each of these influences? How have they sought to counteract them? To what extent can these literary defences be related to actual social and economic conditions in the period? Such are the questions to be answered.

It should be possible, however, to circumscribe our field. It is obvious that indirect argument implies a fairly elaborate presentation of one's case; a brief statement of views on any subject is usually limited to the most direct and positive exposition of the topic. Most French-Canadian literature employs a positive approach, since the literature is predominantly one of short pieces: poems, essays, sketches, tales. This brevity, be it said in passing, is no doubt a result of the environment in which French-Canadian literature was born and nurtured: a young nation, burdened with the double task of hewing itself a home out of the wilderness and of perpetuating itself in the face of Anglo-Saxon domination and expansion, had little time for the refinements of literary production. As these more pressing problems were gradually brought under control less than a century ago, literature began to assert itself. Its rapid growth in the subsequent half-century should not conceal the fact that it was still often considered "impractical"; especially was this true of the newest and most expansive genre, the novel, which was eyed with

distrust in many quarters right till the end of the century. It is to the novel, nevertheless, that French-Canadian writers turned in ever-increasing numbers, since its ample dimensions offered them opportunity to present their ideas in greater detail than was possible in shorter pieces. We may therefore most profitably conduct our search for indirect argument in the pages of the novels.

It would be quite impossible here to give even an outline of the development of the French-Canadian novel in the nineteenth century. Suffice it to say that in the relatively short space of sixty years, the novel, "starting from scratch", attained a reasonable state of maturity by the end of the century. Its progress was somewhat jerky. In certain periods there was little improvement, if any; at other times a great stride forward was taken with almost no preparation, as for example when Laure Conan's Angéline de Montbrun appeared. The most recent novel to be mentioned in these pages, Jean-Baptiste Caouette's Le Vieux Muet is in many respects more primitive than the works published in the 1870's. So we must not look for a clearly defined ascending curve in the history of the nineteenth century novel, although we may certainly not ignore the great progress made.

The close of the century has been selected as the limit of this study for both literary and historical reasons. On the literary side, we find certain patterns present through-

out the period which may be attributed to the tender youth of the novel as a genre and to the strong influence of its Romantic godparents; patterns which are increasingly difficult to discern after 1900 when French realism has come into prominence. Historically, the turn of the century forms a convenient break, since by that time French Canada had reached a stage of self-sufficiency more in keeping with that of the surrounding Anglo-Saxon nations; the decrease in emigration to the United States in the years following bears witness to the fact that the "petite patrie" was now more able to take its own place in the sun. However, it must by no means be surmised that the disintegrating influences to be treated in these chapters either ceased to exist or ceased to receive the attention of French-Canadian thinkers in the new century which was opening. As the occasional reference will show, many of the problems here discussed will also be the concern of twentieth century novelists.

The form of this study reflects the stages by which its conclusions were reached. At the beginning, some time was spent in attempting to evolve a picture of French-Canadian life and ideals, the general outline of which is given in the first chapter. In the next stage, the novels were read in approximately chronological order, and at the same time, literary reviews and pamphlets of the period were consulted, in order that the novels might be related to the

thought of the time. The only such source available throughout the whole period (leaving the newspapers out of the question for the moment) is the Revue Canadienne, whose three dozen volumes before 1900 provide a running commentary on life and thought in the nineteenth-century French-Canada second to none. Most of these "non-novel" sources will be found listed in the bibliography under the heading, "Sources of Background." The cumulative evidence of the novelists and the external sources was then sub-divided by content and appears here as chapters 2 - 6, each chapter containing more specific sub-sections in which certain problems are discussed and their treatment by the novelists analysed. A few general remarks and conclusions are contained in the final chapter before the bibliography. The considerations governing the selection of the latter will be found in its preliminary pages.

C H A P T E R I

FRENCH-CANADIAN LIFE AND IDEALS

Before proceeding to an enumeration and analysis of the disintegrating influences at work on nineteenth-century French-Canadian society, we must pause to consider briefly the nature of that society and of its ideals. The pages that follow do not purport to describe French-Canadian life in detail; that task would require a volume many times the size of this thesis. Nor do they seek even to portray French-Canadian ideals as reflected in the national literature; we possess several excellent books written for that purpose.[1] A still more limited study, that of French-Canadian life and culture as revealed in novels alone, and only in those written from 1900 to 1940, has recently filled a substantial volume.[2] The impossibility, therefore, of undertaking in this chapter anything more than a mere sketch of the subject, is obvious. Every general outline shows inadequacies when examined in detail; it is nevertheless hoped

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1. Ian Forbes Fraser: The Spirit of French Canada; Antoine-Joseph Jobin: Visages littéraires du Canada français
2. Eleanor L. Michel: Les Canadiens-français d'après le roman canadien-français contemporain.

that the following generalizations will be neither too restricitive nor too loose for our purpose, which is that of establishing a basis of positive values before turning to consider negative attacks upon them.

This study as a whole might perhaps be summarized in a remark made by F.M. Jones in speaking of the novels of this period:

> "Patriotisme signifie, aux yeux du romancier, conservation de ces caractères ethniques dont la génération de 1860 a hérité, et opposition pacifique à tout ce qui est ennemi de la nationalité canadienne."[1]

It is intended to illustrate the latter part of this statement in some detail in the chapters which follow; the former aspect of our subject will be discussed very generally in the next few pages.

For the sake of convenience, this chapter has been divided into four sections, which find their negative counterparts in the succeeding four chapters, albeit one may not at all times be able to draw a perfect parallel. The section on French-Canadian history, nationality and language may thus be placed over against the chapter on English character and language; that dealing with the French-Canadian's devotion to his national home and to his hearth, is balanced

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1. F.M. Jones: Le roman canadien-français, p.143.

by the chapter entitled "Emigration." The emphasis in the third section on his love of nature and adherence to the soil may be paralleled by the exposition in chapter IV of city life in an age of industry and materialism; the final section, treating French-Canadian Catholicism and its insistence upon a firm Christian morality, may be linked to chapter V: "Irreligion and Immorality." These later chapters should therefore be more significant when read against this background.

History, Nationality and Language.

The motto of the Province of Quebec, "Je me souviens," has often been quoted as an illustration of the retrospective attitude which lies behind French-Canadian devotion to the past. Perhaps it is too often thought by unsympathetic observers that this retrospection is an end in itself: that the French-Canadian clings to the past for its own sake. The past is not here an end in itself: the French-Canadians who say with Louis Hémon "nous n'avons rien oublié"[1] do not boast of their memory, but rather of their adherence to all that is identified with their own nationality. Since the fullest expression of that nationality was found in the period of independence now long past, the French-Canadians

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1. Louis Hémon: Maria Chapdelaine, 1916.

have sought to retain as much of that ancient glory as possible by keeping fresh their history and by preserving their laws and language. The renaissance of French-Canadian nationalism dates from Garneau's Histoire du Canada, which appeared, as if in response to Joseph Doutre's appeal the year before,[1] in 1845, although isolated leaders had attempted to rally public opinion much earlier. The attendant interest in encouraging the use of the French language received a certain impetus from Lafontaine's celebrated speech and from the manuals and articles on French usage which appeared from 1841 on.

In the novels this growing nationalism is witnessed first by the very existence of a literature in French, but further by the number of historical novels and "romans de moeurs anciennes" written in the period. In French Canada the historical novel did not die completely with the close of the Romantic period, because of its close connection with this aspect of the national consciousness. In the chapters which are to follow it will be noted that strictly historical novels contribute less to our study than do others, since the historical approach tends to fall into the class defined in the "Introduction" as positive and inspirational, empha-

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1. Joseph Marmette, François de Bienville, 1812, p. XIX.
2. E. Parent, Le Canadien, 7 mai 1831, gives us the famous epigraph, "Nos Institutions, notre langue et nos Lois."

sizing the glorious and exemplary in French-Canadian history rather than cautioning the reader against undesirable influences.

The National Home and the Family.

The same historical justification may be advanced for French-Canadian devotion to the "petite patrie" and to family ties. French Canada was the home of the 60,000 colonists left after the conquest: the same territory is to-day the home of nearly three million of their descendants. Dozens and hundreds of families have lived on the same land throughout this century and three-quarters of growth.[1] For all French-Canadians the family has been a smaller edition of the nation; everywhere the sense of homogeneity, of fixed location has become deeply rooted in the mind of the people. The historical and linguistic associations of which we spoke in the preceding section are intimately tied to the geographical entity known as the "province française:" to leave the latter, even to return to France, "la mère patrie" would be to break the bonds of nationality. "Nous ne sommes plus des Français"[2] says Abbé Camille Roy: the new nationality which has developped on the shores of the St. Lawrence and

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1. J.C. Chapais, Canada and Its Provinces, vol.XVI, p. 509.
2. Camille Roy, Propos Canadiens, p. 297.

to the north is a distinct one, with its own people, its own customs and its own home. From Gaspésie to Lac St.Jean, from Labrador to the Ottawa, this land has seen generations rocked in the traditional "ber" and laid in Christian graves. It is this age-old continuity from ancestor to heir, established in the same homesteads, on the same land, that we shall see disturbed by the tide of emigration.

The Soil and Nature.

The awe of the early colonists as they surveyed the "arpents de neige" that were to be their home is not absent from the French-Canadian's reverence for his natural surroundings. A long agricultural tradition links Louis Hébert to "Claude Paysan" --a tradition of hard physical labour out-of-doors, of anxious dependence upon the seasons, and of satisfaction in the produce of the soil. So evident is this fact in the literary production that one may well say that"French-Canadian literature gives a larger place to nature than to man."[1] This close contact with nature is reflected in a certain spiritual tranquility and simplicity often noticeable in French-Canadian rural dwellers, --and extolled in the early novels.

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1. Ian F. Fraser: The Spirit of French Canada, p. 153.

> "C'est ainsi que les 'anciens canadiens' ne cherchent que la vie simple mais laborieuse des cultivateurs de la terre; le héros de Charles Guérin limite ses ambitions à la mairie d'un humble village; 'Jean Rivard, défricheur et économiste', préfère à la gloire d'être au Parlement la joie de s'occuper de sa famille et du canton qu'il a créé; 'Jacques et Marie', après la dispersion des Acadiens, se retrouvent dans la petite Cadie, près du Saint-Laurent, où ils fondent leur foyer."[1]

Over and over again in French-Canadian literature we find the nature theme in its two aspects: nature as a source of beauty, the soil as a source of livelihood. In the natural world about him, the peasant sees the hand of God; from the earth at his feet, he draws his daily bread. This is the way of life the novelist defends against the advance of the city, with its man-made surroundings and its materialism.

Religion and Morality.

No discussion of French-Canadian ideals could neglect the strong Catholic core in French-Canadian society. Stemming from the union of throne and altar in pre-revolutionary France, Catholicism was instrumental in the founding of the colony of New France, and has remained an integral part of its national life ever since. It is impossible to

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1. F.M. Jones, Le Roman canadien-français, p.192. This passage appears to be a paraphrase of a similar one in E. Lareau, Histoire de la littérature canadienne, p.333, cited in S. Marion, Nos trois premiers romans, p. 44.

stress too heavily the connection between nationality and religion. F. M. Jones, after outlining the nationalist themes, in French-Canadian literature, says:

> "Un autre thème également patriotique et qui est allé profondément au coeur du peuple, fut le sentiment religieux qui, dans chaque roman de cette époque est fortement accentué; rester français, en effet, signifiait avant tout perpétuer les habitudes chrétiennes prises dès l'enfance."[1]

Catholic thinking is no doubt closely related to the spiritual serenity of the people mentioned earlier; probably too it explains in part the lack in French Canada of the "esprit frondeur", in spite of the influence of Voltaire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

But by far the most important reflection of this strong religious faith is in the emphasis on Christian morality displayed throughout French-Canadian life and literature. Many of the old parishes can lay claim to almost untarnished records in this regard. In the parish of Saint-Augustin, near Quebec, for example, not a single crime of violence was committed from 1690 to 1885.[2] It is only natural that a high moral tone should pervade the literary production. One may therefore expect that untiring resistance

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1. Jones, F.M., Le Roman canadien-français, p. 145.

2. Béchard, A., Histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Augustin, Québec 1885; quoted in .AJ. Jobin, Visages littéraires du Canada français. p.140.

will be offered to the forces of irreligion and immorality.

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Having made this brief survey of French-Canadian life and ideals, we may now examine our novelists' contribution to the struggle against disintegrating influences at work on these ideals in the nineteenth century.

C H A P T E R II

THE ENGLISH

In attempting to predict, a priori, the possible disintegrating influences which French-Canadian novelists would resist, one might expect that the English would come in for more than their share of attention. However, this is hardly the case. Furthermore, an Anglo-Saxon reader might well imagine that the novelists' attitude toward English Canadians and Americans would be similar, if not identical. Here again, an examination of the novels themselves leads to quite different conclusions. The attitude towards Americans will be discussed in the next chapter; for the present, let us confine ourselves to the protrayal of the English in Canada as they appear in the nineteenth-century French-Canadian novels. It is possible to break the topic down into three sections: the first of these might be devoted to the influence of the English language on French-Canadian society, and the remaining two to the portrait of the English themselves in historical settings and in contemporary settings. It goes without saying that these several aspects often blend and become almost inseparable, but, in general, all references to English Canadians can be bulked under these headings.

The English Language.

From a linguistic point of view, the presence of a surrounding English-speaking nation gives rise to two closely related trends: anglicisation and bilingualism. Thanks to the scholarship of James Geddes Jr.[1] and Adjutor Rivard,[2] to name only the two leaders of French-Canadian philological research, we have a reasonably complete picture of the effect of English in the former regard. The campaign for linguistic purity (although with varying definitions of the word "purity") has been waged ever since the Abbé Maguire in 1841 saw fit to complement his Manuel[3] by a "recueil de locutions vicieuses." In 1863, Abbé J.G. Gingras, recognizing the growing importance of anglicisation as a corruptive influence on the French language in Canada, listed may anglicisms in his Manuel des expressions vicieuses les plus fréquentes.[4] The high point of the campaign against anglicisms was reached in the decade 1880-1890, which saw the publication of more than a score of books devoted to this subject; perhaps one of the best known is the pamphlet, L'Anglicisme

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1. Geddes, James, Jr., Canadian-French. The Language and Literature of the Past Decade, 1890-1900. See pages 19-30 for 1841-1890.
2. James Geddes, Jr.,and Adjutor Rivard, Bibliographie du Parler Français au Canada.
3. Abbé Maguire, Manuel des difficultés les plus communes de la langue française, adopté au jeune âge et suivi d'un recueil de locutions vicieuses. Québec, 1841.
4. Details of this and many similar works will be found in the Geddes-Rivard Bibliographie.

voilà l'ennemi;[1] by J.- P. Tardivel, whose name will appear elsewhere in these pages as the author of the anti-masonic novel Pour la Patrie.

If, however, we search the pages of our novels for a reflection of this linguistic concern, we can see only a faint glimmer. It is true that in both the "nouvelles" which were published in the Répertoire national under the dates 1844 and 1846, there are English borrowings,[2] as also in Charles Guérin,[3] but the number of occurrences of English words in novel dialogue and narrative later in the century is so small as to be almost negligible.[4] There are only occasional references to a character's use of anglicisms: Louise Routhier in a letter to Jean Rivard says of her unwanted suitor M. Duval,

> "Je sais seulement que ses phrases étaient parsemées de mots anglais que je n'aurais pas pu comprendre quand même je l'aurais voulu.[5]

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1. Details of this and many similar works will be found in the Geddes-Rivard Bibliographie.
2. Lacombe, Patrice, La Terre paternelle, in Le Répertoire national, vol.3, pp.357-397. See especially, pp. 369-370, description of "la criée."
   Lécuyer, Eugène, La Fille du Brigand, In Le Répertoire national, vol. 3, pp.91-207. See pp.98, 124, 150 ("watchman"); p.138 ("job"); p.172 ("man").
3. Chauveau, P.J.O., Charles Guérin, p. 69 ("Mahogany"); p.80 ("smart", "post-office", "penny", "bargain"P; p. 348 (il s'en va aux chiens); "Note on p. 378.
4. See Beaugrand,H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p.18; Dick,E., Le Roi des Etudiants,p.188; Un Drame au Labrador, pp.111-12; L'Enfant mystérieux, pp.3,86,128, 237, etc. v.II.
5. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean-Rivard, p.114

This absence of anglicisms may perhaps indicate that the writers themselves were sufficiently conscious of the problem to avoid setting a bad example in their own writing; they no doubt thought they should leave well enough alone when putting speech into the mouths of their characters.

The topic of bilingualism is not so lightly passed over. In the Revue Canadienne we find the subject broached several times. In reviewing a Nouveau Cours de langue anglaise, selon la Méthode d'Ollendorff, in 1871, L.W. Tessier writes:

> "L'importance de la langue anglaise dans l'enseignement public est reconnue depuis longtemps parmi nous, et nous savons tous que l'éducation de la jeunesse serait fort incomplète, sans la connaissance pratique de cette langue.
>
> Aussi nos maisons d'éducation ont introduit, depuis bien des années, un cours de langue anglaise dans leurs programmes d'enseignement." [1]

He implies, nevertheless, that this state of affairs is more recent than traditional:

> "Je me rappelle que, de notre temps, on donnait fort peu d'attention à l'étude de l'anglais, et les professeurs qui nous l'enseignaient trouvaient la tâche fort ingrate, tant nous y mettions de mauvaise volonté."[2]

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1. Revue Canadienne, 1871, p. 158.

2. Ibid., p. 159.

A somewhat less sympathetic attitude towards English is expressed by B.A.T. de Montigny, writing in the same publication in 1893 on the subject of separate schools:

> "Certes, que l'on apprenne l'anglais pour les besoins des affaires; que ceux qui sont appelés à jouer un rôle public l'apprennent parfaitement, c'est bien. Mais qu'on mette cette langue sur le même pied que la langue française, c'est ridicule.
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> . . . . . .
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> Et l'on n'aperçoit pas, Messieurs, qu'en engageant nos gens à savoir tous bien l'anglais, au lieu de forcer les étrangers à apprendre notre langue, on persuade nos compatriotes qu'il n'y a de salut qu'en anglais. Et l'on n'aperçoit pas, en prêchant en faveur de cette éducation anglaise, que l'on mène notre population tout simplement à l'apostasie."[1]

The position of the novelists would seem to lie closer to that of M. Tessier. It is interesting to note that almost all their heroes, and many of their heroines, speak or read English, or both. This feature is more noticeable in the "romans de moeurs" than in the historical novels, since the characters of the latter have little or no social contact with their enemies. Nevertheless, we do find some characters in the historical novels who have learned English: for example, Marie Landry.

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1. Revue Canadienne, 1893, p. 677.

> "Le vieux notaire qui l'aimait beaucoup, et qui, d'un autre côté s'était toujours montré partisan et l'ami des Anglais, lui avait aussi fait apprendre un peu la langue des conquérants, qu'il jugeait nécessaire aux habitants dans les conditions où se trouvait le pays."[1]

In the novels whose scene is laid in the nineteenth century it is rare to find a hero who is revealed as being ignorant of English. Studying or translating English is mentioned as an occupation of such figures as Gustave Charmenil,[2] Jean-Marie Kernouet,[3] Jean-Charles Lormier,[4] Louis d'Orsy,[5] and Jeanne Girard.[6]

On the other hand, ignorance of English is occasionally mentioned as an obstacle: Pierre Gagnon has cause to regret the fact that his newly-acquired oxen understand only English when he doesn't;[7] Jacques Hébert is unable to read Col. Winslow's letter giving him news of his fiancée Marie,[8] because it is written in English; and Pierre Bouet cannot understand the English sailor who hands him the "enfant mystérieux."[9]

Thus it might be said that the novelists of the period are for the most part well disposed towards the learn-

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1. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 53.
2. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean-Rivard, p.183.
3. Rousseau, E., Les Exploits d'Iberville, p. 75.
4. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, pp. 294, 351, 392.
5. Marmette, J., François de Bienville, p. 147.
6. Beaugrand,H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 272.
7. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p.65.
8. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 264, (also, p.233).
9. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, vol.I, p. 23.

ing of English. This trait must by no means be interpreted as a sign of declining interest in their own language, but merely as a thoughtful recognition by the novelists of the fact that linguistic isolationism, however justifiable M. de Montigny's fears may have been, would be most unwise.

The English in Historical Settings.

The portrait of the English given in historical novels can only be outlined if a distinction is made between the race as a whole and its individual representatives. Once this division is made, the apparent complexity of the portrait resolves itself into two simple aspects. The English as a race are not favourably portrayed, a normal consequence of their status as enemies during the late seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth centuries. The severity of treatment varies with different authors, although we find explanatory passages like the following appended to some of the texts.

> "J'ai pris pour sujet de mon livre un événement lugubre, conséquence d'un acte bien mauvais de la politique anglaise; mais ce n'est pas pour soulever des haines tardives et inutiles dans le coeur de mes lecteurs: à quoi bon? Tous les peuples ne conservent-ils pas dans leurs annales des souvenirs qui rappellent des crimes affreux qu'ils ont expiés, ou dont ils porteront la tache durant des siècles?"[1]

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1. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 6

And again:

> "Je dois ici prévenir le lecteur que je ne prétends nullement réveiller de vieilles haines. Comme je veux peindre une époque, il me faut nécessairement la représenter telle qu'elle était; c'est-à-dire avec ses antipathies et ses préjugés. Il n'y aura donc pas lieu de s'étonner si l'on voit mes personnages laisser percer à chaque instant, leur animosité contre leurs ennemis, les Anglais, qu'ils avaient à combattre chaque jour."[1]

The English as a race are in general portrayed as treacherous, cruel, and irreligious. Perhaps the most uncompromising depiction of their cruelty is to be found in Jacques et Marie, in which "les bourreaux de l'Acadie"[2] leave a lasting impression of distaste with the reader. Other instances are not rare. Edmond Rousseau, after describing the ravaging of Ste. Anne and St. Roch by the English in 1759 says laconically:

> "Des Prussiens, dont les Anglais sont parents, n'auraient pas mieux fait."[3]

The same event is used in Les Anciens Canadiens to greater dramatic advantage because of its effect on the generous Arché de Lochiel,[4] but the point to be made is the

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1. Marmette, Joseph, François de Bienville, pp.75-76, footnote.
2. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 251.
3. Rousseau, E., Le Château de Beaumanoir, p. 143.
4. De Gaspé, Ph.-A. (père), Les Anciens Canadiens, pp.120,sqq.

same. Les Ribaud, dealing with a much later period (1836-1838) includes a scene in which English soldiers taunt French habitants unmercifully.[1] The change of treachery is not so often made; Edmond Rousseau here also furnishes us with an example when he comments on the taking of Fort Bourbon by the English in 1696.

> "Après avoir pris possession du fort, les Anglais, avec leur bonne foi ordinaire, oublièrent les articles de la capitulation."[2]

On the subject of the immorality and irreligion of the English there is no dearth of passages to choose from. Most frequent are the references to their habit of profanity, illustrated by the epithet, "les goddam" which is applied to them almost as regularly as is the somewhat more flattering "les habits rouges." Les Exploits d'Iberville contains a footnote on this usage.

> "Des habits rouges, ou des goddem: c'est ainsi que nos pères désignaient les Anglais, et ces expressions ont même été conservées dans certaines campagnes non loin de Québec."[3]

As might perhaps be anticipated, Jacques et Marie does not neglect this aspect of the English character. Cap-

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1. Choquette, E., Les Ribaud, p. 13.
2. Rousseau, E., Les Exploits d'Iberville, p. 164.
3. Ibid., p. 172, Footnote.
   See also, Marmette, J., François de Bienville, pp.249, 311.

tain Butler's speech is considerably more remarkable for its irrelevant profanity than for its content.[1] In passing, it should be noted that this novel contains a unique passage in which a drunken English officer invites his fellow diners to join him in a mock toast to the Pope.[2] The pages of Les Anciens Canadiens offer additional testimony on the subject of English profanity. José's vivid tale of his father's adventure with La Corriveau brings him to the topic with no malice aforethought.

> "Ah! satanée bigre de chienne! cria mon défunt père, (c'était le seul jurement dont il usait, le saint homme, et encore dans les grandes traverses.)
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> . . . Diable! dit Jules, il me semble que l'occasion était favorable! Quant à moi, j'aurais juré comme un paien. --- Et moi, reprit Arché, comme un Anglais."[3]

Arché hastens to support this last statement by a quotation from Voltaire purporting that "tout Anglais jure," and apparently based on evidence dating back to 1445. Later in the book Captain des Ecors tells of his captivity under General Murray, in these words:

> "Je demandais chaque jour à la sentinelle qui se promenait sous mes fenêtres, s'il y avait

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1. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, pp. 36, 39, 41, etc.
2. Ibid., p. 240.
3. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Les Anciens Canadiens, pp. 32-33.

> quelques nouvelles; et je n'en recevais ordinairement pour toute réponse qu'un 'g----m' des plus francs." [1]

It seems likely that the sentry acquired this habit from General Murray himself, who is reported thirty pages earlier as having made the same reply to Arché during an interview.[2]

Less frequent are the allusions to a lack of religious faith among the English, or to their Protestantism. In François de Bienville we find them once referred to as "les hérétiques";[3] there is also the incident of their shelling the picture of the Holy Family hoisted aloft on the cathedral tower.

> "Les susceptibilités religieuses des marins et des soldats protestants qui montaient la flotte anglaise s'irritèrent de ce que nos frères dissidents ont toujours appelé une grossière superstition. Et le tableau servit de but à leurs projectiles."[4]

This Protestant intolerance is noted also by De Gaspé, père, in his Notes et Eclaircissements to Les Anciens Canadiens. In relating an aged peasant's reluctance to give his blessing to Arché until he is assured of the latter's faith,[5] the author comments:

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1. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 190.
2. Ibid., p. 164.
3. Marmette, J., François de Bienville, p. 250.
4. Ibid., pp. 233-234.
5. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Op. cit., p. 121.

> "Ces préjugés des catholiques canadiens-français contre leurs frères d'une autre croyance sont entièrement effacés: je désirerais de tout mon coeur faire le même compliment à un grand nombre de nos frères séparés."[1]

The subjects of immorality and irreligion in their broader aspects will be dealt with in a later chapter. It will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs to what a large extent moral and religious considerations enter into the novelists's portrayal of the English.

As was pointed out at the beginning of the section however, this is only half the story. It is impossible to overlook the fact that the historical novels present a remarkable number of extremely sympathetic English cahracters. The best known example is Arché de Lochiel in Les Anciens Canadiens, if we may for a moment call the braw Highlander an "Englishman." George Gordon, the gallant and generous lover of Marie Landry,[2] who is constantly thoughtful in his behaviour to the Acadians, speaks both French and English fluently,[3] even having a knowledge of French literature (although one may have reservations with regard to his enthusiasm for the Abbé Chaulieu's works).[4] In spite of a somewhat irregular past,[5] he proves himself a most admirable young man and

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1. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 257.
2. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, passim.
3. Ibid., pp. 36, 57.
4. Ibid., p. 58.
5. Ibid., pp. 40-41.

dies a Catholic.[1] In Les Exploits d'Iberville, Lewis Glen courageously rescues Yvonne Kernouet and her father from the hands of their Iroquois captors.[2] J.-B. Caouette introduces us in his novel[3] to Captain Johnson, an English friend of the exemplary héro Jean-Charles Lormier, who delivers a warmly eulogistic speech on French-Canadian loyalty during the St. Jean-Baptiste day celebrations. John Harthing in François de Bienville can hardly be included in this group, since his initial rebuff at the hands of Marie-Louise d'Orsy transforms him into a despicable and relentless enemy. But the sympathetic Englishman par excellence is Captain Percival Smith, whose sterling qualities endear him not only to Madeleine Ribaud, but also eventually to her bitterly anglophobe father.[4]

From a dramatic point of view, most of these characters may be accounted for by the requirements of the "rival technique" mentioned by Abbé Dandurand in his pages on Joseph Marmette.

> . . . et la fiction consiste à placer dans les camps adverses des rivaux qui combattent pour une jolie Française."[5]

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1. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 262.
2. Rousseau,E., Les Exploits d'Iberville, p. 42.
3. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, pp.189-191.
4. Choquette, E., Les Ribaud, pp.46, 321, 346, 349.
5. Dandurand, Abbé, Le Roman canadien-français, p. 96.

Such an explanation, however, should not obscure the fact that these English characters do serve to lend some proportion to the portrait of the race as a whole, and it certainly does not apply to some of the cases cited above in which there is no question of rivalry. These characters must be accepted as part of the portrait of the English in the historical novels.

The English in Contemporary Settings.

It is less easy to make generalizations about the portrait of the English in the novels with settings approximately contemporary to their time of writing. Some of the features noted in the last section persist; others are replaced by more"modern" considerations. The English tendency towards profanity and blasphemy is still remarked upon: P.-J.-O. Chauveau refers drily in Charles Guérin to "des matelots qui blasphémaient dans la langue du fier Albion, inférieure à nulle autre sous ce rapport."[1] The same novel presents the blackest Protestant character of the period, M. Wagnaer (whom Abbé Dandurand for some reason insists on calling a Jew,[2] despite an unmistakable statement in the text.[3])

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1. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, p. 279
2. Dandurand, Abbé, Le Roman canadien-français, pp. 47, 48.
3. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Op. cit., p. 172.

His name serves to introduce us to the topic of English usurpation of property, earlier implied in La Terre Paternelle when Charles Chauvin returns to his family home only to find an Englishman "insolemment assis au foyer paternel"[1], and on a wider plane, to the question of English commercial and governmental[2] exploitation, which might be roughly paralleled to the charge of treachery in the historical novels. Like the latter, it receives comparatively little space. The only important source is Charles Guérin, which offers us, in addition to the unscrupulous Wagnaer, the useless M. Wilby.

> ". . . ce grand Anglais mince qui a une si bonne place dans le gouvernement (je crois que c'est mille louis par année; je ne sais pas ce qu'il fait, mais il ne sort pas à moins d'avoir quatre chevaux sur sa voiture, et comme il sort souvent, je crois bien que sa place consiste à se promener ainsi en grand équipage pour faire voir à nos pauvres gens comme c'est beau d'être Anglais),"[2a]

. . . not to mention his Civil Service underlings, "un tas de petits Anglais musqués, qui avaient tous l'air plus impertinents les uns que les autres."[3] English sympathetic characters are much rarer in these novels,[4] and the English suitor is almost non-existent. There is some praise of the

1. La Terre Paternelle, in Le Répertoire national, v.3, p.392.
2. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, pp. 48, 50, 62.
2a. Ibid., p. 18.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
4. Ibid., pp.318-322 (Pierre Guérin tours de France with William Johnson.)

English treatment of French-Canadians, although there is a suggestion of temporization in these words, placed in the mouth of the French Abbé Failloux during a discussion of plans for a St. Jean-Baptiste Day festival.

> "Allons donc! Les Anglais d'aujourd'hui sont trop intelligents et trop généreux pour défendre aux Canadiens-français de manifester leur patriotisme. . . Du reste, rien ne vous empêche de donner à ces fêtes un caractère de loyauté, en déployant les drapeaux anglais à côté des drapeaux français, et, dans votre sermon, en exhortant vos paroissiens à respecter l'autorité britannique."[1]

From a twentieth-century viewpoint the most interesting charge levelled against the English in these novels is no doubt that of ignorance and prejudice. In this year of grace 1944, when the same charge is being made, (and with similar justification) these passages retain much of their significance. The Revue Canadienne of 1882 carries an article by Benjamin Sulte entitled L'Ignorance des Anglais[2], an argument "ad hominem" replying to a like criticism made by the English in the opposite direction. The same method is used by Edmond Rousseau.

> "Nous ne sommes pas plus anglophobe qu'un autre; mais dans un temps où une certaine presse anglaise ne se gêne pas pour accuser, sans le moindre prétexte, les Canadiens-français de lâcheté, de barbarie, nous avons bien le droit de rap-

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1. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, p. 184.
2. Revue Canadienne, 1882, pp. 5-10.

peler ce que furent leurs pères, avec quelle sorte d'humanité les aieux de nos détracteurs d'aujourd'hui traitèrent les nôtres à cette époque."[1]

The provocation of this blast is less delicately hinted at eighty pages later:

"En écrivant ce livre, si nous sommes sortis peut-être des règles ordinaires d'un roman, c'est que nous avons été guidé avant tout par une pensée patriotique. Expliquons-nous.

Dans un temps où une certaine partie de nos voisins d'Ontario cherchent à nous traiter en pays conquis; quand un grand nombre de journaux anglo-canadiens poussent le fanatisme et la haine du nom français jusqu'à mettre en doute notre courage; tranchons-le mot: quand il n'y a que quelques mois, un journaliste anglais, sans le moindre semblant de vérité, sans le plus petit prétexte, s'oubliait jusqu'à accuser nos volontaires canadiens-français de Québec et Montréal de lâcheté, de pillage, de brigandage, l'auteur s'est dit que l'écrivain canadien avait un devoir sacré à remplir: défendre sa nationalité calomniée, outragée."[2]

The whole question, however, is summed up admirably in a single sentence from Pour la Patrie --a sentence which Tardivel's lack of subtlety in other pages might well cause to be passed over unnoticed. In speaking of the deliberately far-fetched nationalism of the Masonic-controlled paper, Le Progrès Catholique, he says simply:

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1. Rousseau, E., Le Château de Beaumanoir, p. 143.
2. Ibid., p. 219.

> "Ses écrits furent reproduits par la presse Anglaise des autres provinces et passèrent au loin pour être l'écho fidèle des sentiments et des aspirations de la masse des Canadiens-français."[1]

In this suggestion of a lack of intelligent examination and sympathetic criticism of French-Canadian affairs, of a blind acceptance of rumours and deliberately misleading statements, we probably have the keynote of the problem: unfortunately most of the novelists did not realize, or did not sufficiently appreciate the importance of this point.

There is one subject with regard to which an interesting comparison can be made between the historical novels and the "romans de moeurs contemporaines:" that of mixed marriages. We note in the historical novels that, although the beautiful French heroine often has an English suitor, the latter is never successful. Sometimes his inadmissibility is stated unconditionally by those who believe with M. Landry,

> ". . .qu'une Française n'a pas le droit d'aliéner le sang de sa race,"[2]

but more often the author, although unwilling to have an English lover triumph, slips in an explanatory note:

> "Si j'avais à écrire un roman de moeurs contemporaines, mes personnages y parleraient

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1. Tardivel, P., Pour la Patrie, p. 156.
2. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 68

> autrement; et l'on n'y verrait pas, si je voulais rester dans le vrai, une jeune fille canadienne-française dédaigner l'amour d'un jeune et brillant officier britannique. Autres temps, autres moeurs."[1]

Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé père takes up a tactful position here; he manages to be on both sides of the fence simultaneously, a somewhat remarkable feat. Blanche d'Haberville, while approving mixed marriages in principle, considers a union with Archie disloyal in her own particular case.

> "Il est naturel, il est même à souhaiter, que les races française et anglo-saxonne, ayant maintenant une même patrie, se rapprochent par des alliances intimes; mais il serait indigne de moi d'en donner l'exemple après tant de désastres."[2]

Jules d'Haberville on the other hand, does not hesitate to marry an English girl, after paving the way by telling Blanche.

> "Quant à moi, si j'aimais une Anglaise et qu'elle répondait à mes sentiments, je l'épouserais sans plus de répugnance qu'une de mes compatriotes."[3]

As was suggested by Joseph Marmette in the passage quoted above from François de Bienville, the situation is a good deal different in the "romans de moeurs contemporaines."

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1. Marmette, J., François de Bienville, p. 76
2. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 200
3. Ibid., p. 199.

Les Ribaud is in essence the story of the love of Madeleine Ribaud and the English Captain Percival Smith, --a love so great that it wears down the resistance of the fiery patriot Dr. Ribaud, who finally blesses the marriage of the young couple.[1] L'Enfant Mystérieux opens with a description of the wedding of the young lovers who are to find each other and their lost child only after two volumes of elaborate adventures.

> "Ce jour-là, en effet, Richard Walpole, jeune et riche négociant anglais, épousait mademoiselle Eugénie Latour, une des plus éclatantes beautés de la haute société canadienne-française.
>
> Le temps était déjà loin où de mesquines rivalités nationales creusaient un abîme entre les deux grandes races qui se partagent le sol du Canada. L'apaisement était venu d'abord, bientôt suivi de cette estime mutuelle que se doivent les peuples destinés à marcher côte à côte sous l'égide d'une même constitution. Puis de l'estime on était passé à l'amitié; tant et si bien que l'on vit, spectacle consolant, les descendants de deux nations ennemies qui s'étaient longtemps combattues, ne pas rougir de contracter ensemble d'indissolubles alliances."[2]

There is thus a real change of attitude apparent in the depiction of successive periods in French-Canadian history. However, it must not be thought that this change marks an end of controversy; the question will reappear in twentieth-century novels, with the emphasis placed more on religious differences than on purely racial ones.[3]

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1. Choquette, E., Les Ribaud, pp. 346-349.
2. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, pp. 3-4.
3. Groulx, Lionel, L'Appel de la Race, Montréal, 1922. De Roquebrune, Robert, Les Habits Rouges, Paris, 1923; Dugré, P.A., La Campagne canadienne, Montréal, 1925.

This chapter has not sought to review all the references to the English in our novels. Of the passages not cited here some will appear in other contexts; in the chapter entitled "The City", for example, will be found the charge that urban extravagance and materialism are attributable to English influence, a matter which has not even been mentioned here. An effort has been made in the course of the present chapter, nevertheless, to show that the novelists' attitude towards the English, while not often openly hostile, is characterized by the coolness usually accorded anyone not too well known or trusted. There is everywhere the feeling that the English, although rarely vicious, certainly should not be encouraged, even for their curiosity value (this latter quality strikingly illustrated by Napoléon Bourassa's unelaborated statement that celery is the Englishman's favourite vegetable![1]). When Henri Voisin in Charles Guérin speaks of the desirability of "anglifying" French-Canadian society[2], we know that he is launching a contradiction in terms much more profound than the mere words themselves. The novelists' intention to maintain a barrier between Anglo-Canadians and French-Canadians is perceptible throughout the whole period, even if we grant F.M.

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1. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 230.

2. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, pp. 62-70.

Jones claim that it is more evident in the latter part of the century.

> "Les derniers romanciers ont constamment été alarmés par la tendance croissante, qui se manifeste en particulier chez la jeunesse canadienne, sinon à suivre de plein gré le programme de la civilisation anglo-saxonne, du moins à l'accepter passivement; c'est ainsi que, dans nombre de leurs romans, ils traitent, du point de vue psychologique, divers aspects de ce mouvement."[1]

In tracing the outlines of the novelists' portrait of the English, we have discovered the first great disintegrating influence against which nineteenth-century French-Canadian writers took the defensive.

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1. Jones, E.M., Le Roman canadien-français, p.149.

C H A P T E R III

EMIGRATION

Perhaps the thorniest question confronting French-Canadian thinkers in the nineteenth century was that of the emigration of their fellow-countrymen to the United States: a tiny trickle at first, growing into a steady stream and finally a headlong flood of French-Canadians across the border, to the detriment of the homeland. For two generations there was no more pressing problem in French Canada than that of preventing this drain of the province's manpower.

In spite of the great historical, political and economic interest of this phenomenon, there is no space here to give more than a hint of its magnitude. This will be done in the first section of the present chapter; in the second section we shall examine the novelists' treatment of the problem. The third section will be devoted to a related topic, --the United States as portrayed in the novels.

The Emigration Problem: Historical.

An historian of the problem of emigration in French Canada would no doubt go back to the years following the conquest, when a certain number of French-Canadians crossed into

the United States, some of them later to join Washington's armies during the American Revolution. Again after the ill-fated rebellion of 1837-1838, a number of French-Canadians saw fit to, or were forced to,leave Canada and take refuge in the States. But the refugees of 1763 and the exiles of 1838 were a mere handful: emigration proper can only be said to date from about 1840.[1] A generation later it was at its peak: thousands were leaving the country monthly, and the railroads experienced a real "boom" as the emigrant trains shuttled back and forth across the border. There was little decrease in the number of emigrants till the last decade of the century. The great majority of these never returned and were lost to their country forever. Magnan put it succinctly:

> "De 1865 à 1895, la province de Québec se dépeupla au profit des Etats de la Nouvelle Angleterre."[2]

The great attraction for the emigrants was the prospect of good wages in the recently opened factories of New England. A vigorous press campaign and a torrent of pamphlets and articles had little effect in combatting this lure. On the Canadian side of the question, many causes

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1. It was at this time that the New England textile factories began to attract French-Canadians. It is true that there had been some emigration to the steam sawmills and shipbuilding yards of Maine from 1825 on.
2. Magnan, D.A.M., Histoire de la Race française aux Etats-Unis, p. 266.

could be found for the exodus: the Reverend James Nelligan and other clerics in their pamphlet of 1851[1] listed five, all bearing on the difficulty of acquiring, gaining access to, or retaining arable land in Quebec; in 1896, C.E. Rouleau was to substitute for these such less flattering reasons as indolence, intemperance, the desire for more luxuries, uneconomical farming, and so on. The Nelligan pamphlet is typical of early propaganda on the subject in that it assumes that all the emigrants wanted was land to farm, an over-simplification which later writers, such as Benjamin Sulte, refused to accept.

> "Quelques journalistes, des orateurs se mirent à prêcher la colonisation. Peine inutile! Ceux qui partaient n'avaient pas le goût du travail des champs; ils obéissaient à cet instinct aventurier qui caractérise notre race; ils cherchaient à s'ouvrir des carrières inconnues pour eux jusque là."[2]

The emigrants were for the most part not escapists but industrious and intelligent people, seeking to better their condition.

> "Les émigrants canadiens, nous pouvons l'affirmer sans forfanterie, furent tous, ou presque

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1. Nelligan, Rev.J., et al., Le Canadien Emigrant, (See Bibliography, Part C.)
2. Sulte, B., Histoire des Canadiens-français, vol.IV, p.133.

> tous, de forts honnêtes gens, qui vinrent aux Etats-Unis demander au travail l'aisance ou la fortune." [1]

As a result they proved to be excellent workers, and were welcomed by American manufacturers. By 1870 the French-Canadians in New England numbered hundreds of thousands. French-Canadian parishes were established, French language newspapers founded, and a sort of transplanted French Canada developed in the midst of the surrounding English-speaking communities; indeed, to such an extent that some French-Canadians, like Judge A.B. Routhier, began to feel that perhaps the emigrants might eventually convert the United States to Catholicism![2] But in general, as the tide of emigration continued, the outcry became more discouraged and discouraging. In 1888 the Reverend A. Labelle in a gloomy pamphlet retailed the usual causes and then went on:

> "Il faut ajouter que pour uh certain nombre une mauvaise culture, le luxe, les folles dépenses, quelque fois, hélas! l'ivrognerie, un tempérament aventureux que nous tenons des Normands, ont pu accélérer cet exode de nos nationaux." [3]

Nor is he any more cheerful in foretelling the fate of the emigrant.

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1. Magnan, Abbé D.M.A., Op.cit., p. 267.
2. Routhier, A.B., Causeries du Dimanche, chap. "L'Emigration."
3. Labelle, Rev. A., Considérations générales sur l'agriculture, la colonisation, le rapatriement et l'émigration, p. 11.

> "L'ouvrier peut gagner parfois plus d'argent que le cultivateur, mais la constitution du premier se détériore au travail délétère des fabriques, et l'affaiblissement de ses descendants qui suivent la même carrière ne fait que progresser de générations en générations et entraîner les maux lamentables qui sont la plaie des pays manufacturiers."[1]

Such documents could be quoted for many pages, but enough has already been said here to give an impression of the importance of the problem and of the grave concern which it aroused. It is not surprising that this concern should manifest itself in the literature of the period. We shall say nothing here of its expression in patriotic poetry; our interest is in a much broader field, that of the novels.

Emigration in the Novels.

Before settling down to the treatment of the emigration problem in the novels, we might digress, momentarily to note two small texts related only vaguely to the subject, but of some interest to the historian of the French-Canadian novel. These two passages bear on Mexico and California, each mentioned rarely in the novels consulted, but perhaps linked to articles in reviews of the period. The Revue canadienne of 1866 and 1867 contains two articles by Faucher de Saint-Maurice[2] recounting his experiences in Mexico during

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1. Labelle, Rev. A., Op. cit., p. 4
2. See Bibliography, part C.

its war of independence. The only extensive reference to Mexico in the novels, is to be found in Edmond Rousseau's La Monongahéla, which gives us a most glamorous picture of Mexico under Spanish rule in the eighteenth century. Whether there is any connection between these two accounts is a matter for conjecture, but this novel takes its place in the small group headed by Georges de Boucherville's Une de Perdue, Deux de Trouvées, as one of the rare French-Canadian novels depicting an exotic foreign locale. A much closer connection may be seen between Philéas de Boucherville's Souvenirs d'un Voyage en Californie[2] and the occasional references in the novels to the California gold rush; the chief of the latter arises out of Antoine Bouet's attempts in L'Enfant Mystérieux to uncover a treasure of gold ingots supposed buried by the prospector Fournier on his return from California.[2] These two passages although admittedly not pertinent to a study of French-Canadian emigration, are evidences of the possible existence of an exotic current in the nineteenth century novel which is usually ignored by critics.

Searching the novels for information on the emigration problem, we find a large number of brief references to a character's intention to emigrate. Almost every hero at

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1. See Bibliography, part C.

2. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, p. 130

one time or another experiences with Jean Rivard a fleeting temptation to emigrate after a disappointment in love or in his career.

> "La pensée d'émigrer, de s'expatrier, lui venait bien quelquefois, mais il la repoussait aussitôt comme antipatriotique, antinationale."[1]

A number of them succumbed, but usually returned after varying periods, only too glad to return to their native villages. Eugène Dick, after heaping misfortune on an emigrant character, sums up the unexpressed views of many authors when he comments:

> "C'était bien la peine, ma foi, d'aller au-delà de la ligne quarante-cinq apprendre à nasiller une langue étrangère et à faire de la brique."[2]

Some of these short-term emigrations are for the purpose of taking refuge from justice or from calumny: in J.-B. Caouette's Le Vieux Muet, Jean-Charles Lormier flees to New Hampshire thinking he has killed his brother Victor in a struggle, and in Le Roi des Etudiants most of the dramatis personae are found fighting on assorted sides in the American Civil War for rather vague reasons of this sort.[3]

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1. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 22. See also, Chauveau, Charles Guérin; Choquette, Claude Paysan, pp.31, 70, re Jacques Dufresne; Jean Rivard, re Gustave Charmenil; Dick, L'Enfant Mystérieux, pp. 64-65, re: Antoine Bouet, etc.
2. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, vol. I, p. 65.
3. Dick, E., Le Roi des Etudiants, Col.Priv. his wife, son Edmond and daughter Laure, Paul Champfort and Joseph Lapierre are on the side of the South (p.150, et passim),Gustave Lenoir fights for the North, p. 23.

The events of 1837-1838 of course provoked many of these departures, since,

> "Les chefs poursuivis et traqués par la police anglaise s'enfuirent aux Etats-Unis"[1], especially "à Burlington, où s'étaient réfugiés la plupart des patriotes fugitifs."[2]

The emigration after 1838 for political reasons was a temporary phenomenon

> "En 1846, tous les exilés et déportés qui l'avaient voulu, étaient rentrés au pays; les injustices de 1837 et de 1838 étaient en partie réparées."[3]

In spite of the widespread enthusiasm on the return of the exiles, evidenced by the verse and prose tributes preserved for us in the Répertoire National and elsewhere,[4] the novelists seem to have taken little interest in these events.

The emigration problem enters the novel on a significant scale only when the exodus to the factories of New England reached alarming proportions. The serious attempts to cope with this menace are those of the authors of Charles Guérin and Jean Rivard, but a much more expansive treatment

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1. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, pp. 103-104
2. Ibid., p. 117
3. Filteau,G., Histoire des Patriotes, vol. III, p. 267
4. See Bibliography, part C.

of the topic, although from a different point of view, is that of Honoré Beaugrand in Jeanne la Fileuse. It would be profitable here to analyse these three contributions in some detail.

It will be convenient to examine the former novels together, since their thesis is , in essence, that if satisfactory colonization facilities were available, the emigrants could be persuaded to settle on the land instead of leaving the country. We have already observed that later in the century this view was not so widely held. For the moment, however, we shall accept it and consider its expression in the two novels.

Both these books take as their starting point the vocational problems confronting young college graduates in the mid-nineteenth century. A more detailed discussion of this matter will be found in the chapter on "The Youth of the Nation"; here we are only concerned with its relationship to the topic of emigration. Both Chauveau and Gérin-Lajoie comment on the limited careers available to young men with a college education, and both deplore the encumberment of these few careers by young men who could better employ their talents elsewhere.

> "Au point où nous en sommes rendus, si par un moyen ou par un autre on n'ouvre avant peu à notre jeunesse de nouvelles carrières, les pro-

> fessions libérales vont s'encombrer d'une manière alarmante, le nombre de têtes inoccupées ira chaque jour grossissant et finira par produire quelque explosion fatale."[1]

For the good Abbé Leblanc, from whom this speech is taken, the solution is quite obvious.

> "Ah! s'il m'était donné de pouvoir me faire entendre de ces centaines de jeunes gens qui chaque année quittent nos campagnes pour se lancer dans les carrières professionnelles, commerciales, ou industrielles, ou pour aller chercher fortune à l'étranger, je leur dirais: ô jeunes gens, mes amis, pourquoi désertez-vous? Pourquoi quitter nos belles campagnes, nos superbes forêts, notre belle patrie pour aller ailleurs chercher une fortune que vous n'y trouverez pas? Le commerce, l'industrie, vous offrent, dites-vous, des gages plus élevés, mais est-il rien d'aussi solide que la richesse agricole? Un cultivateur intelligent voit chaque jour augmenter sa richesse sans craindre de la voir s'écrouler subitement; il ne vit pas en proie aux soucis dévorants; sa vie paisible simple, frugale, lui procure une heureuse vieillesse."[2]

It is in response to this appeal that Jean Rivard sets out to clear his lot and "faire de la terre". We have seen earlier that for him the thought of emigration was unpatriotic,[3] but it has occurred to him just as to his friend Gustave Charmenil, whom we shall meet again in a later chapter. Gustave's painful existence as a city lawyer has brought him to confess in a letter to Jean.

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1. Gérin-Lajoie,A., Jean Rivard, p. 21
2. Ibid., p. 21
3. Ibid., p. 22

> "Croirais-tu que dans mon désespoir j'en suis même venu à la pensée de m'expatrier. . . d'aller quelque part où je ne suis pas connu travailler des bras, si je ne puis d'aucune manière tirer parti de mon éducation? Oui, à l'heure qu'il est, si j'avais été assez riche pour me faire conduire à la frontière, je foulerais probablement une autre terre que celle de la patrie, je mangerais 'le pain amer de l'étranger'."[1]

In Charles Guérin the same vocational difficulties lead Pierre Guérin to emigrate,[2] this time to Europe. His brother Charles finds the legal profession so discouraging that after his marriage to Marichette he abandons it for agriculture. This change of career is none too well prepared for in the earlier pages of the novel: one is tempted to think with Adolphe de Puibrusque[3] that this section of the book comes a little unnaturally after the rest. Be that as it may, Charles anticipates Jean Rivard when he suggests agriculture as a substitute for emigration.

> "Quelques années après son mariage, plusieurs jeunes gens de sa paroisse étaient sur le point d'émigrer à l'étranger. Leurs pères, après avoir donné à l'aîné la moitié de la terre de l'aieul, ne pouvait point partager l'autre moitié en quatre ou cinq lambeaux; ils n'avaient point non plus les moyens d'acheter de nouvelles terres: il fallait donc partir.
>
> Charles rassembla à la porte de l'église tous les fugitifs et il leur fit un magnifique sermon en trois points sur la lâcheté qu'il y avait d'abandon-

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1. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean-Rivard, p. 118.
2. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, p. 9.
3. Le Canadien, 27 août 1855(See Marion, S., Nos Trois premiers Romans, p. 41)

> ner son pays, sur les dangers que l'on courait de perdre sa foi et ses moeurs à l'étranger, sur l'avantage et le patriotisme de fonder de nouveaux établissements sur les terres fertiles de notre pays."[1]

These lofty sentiments, however, are coldly received, so Charles and his friend Jean Guilbault found a colonist society and thus, we presume, solve the whole problem. Fortunately Jean Rivard substitutes for this vagueness a detailed account of every phase of the colonist's activities, although seriously compromising thereby its claim to be considered a novel.

Two very practical points are raised in these novels, both bearing directly on the emigration problem. The first is the need for better roads and transportation facilities into arable areas; Jean Rivard regrets that a road-building programme has not been instituted long before.

> "Si ce moyen si rationnel eût été adopté et mis en pratique sur une grande échelle, il y a cinquante ans, la face du pays serait entièrement changée; ces milliers de Canadiens qui ont enrichi de leur travail les Etats limitrophes de l'Union américaine se seraient établis parmi nous, et auraient contribué dans la mesure de leur nombre et de leurs forces, à développer les ressources du pays et en accroître la population."[2]

The other suggestion is that of establishing manufacturing industries in Canada. Pierre Guérin, writing to his mother says bitterly:

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1. Chauveau, Op. cit., p. 349.
2. Gérin-Lajoie, Op. cit., p. 106.

> "Le gouvernement nous ferme la porte de tous ses bureaux, le commerce anglais nous exclut de ses comptoirs, et nous nous fermons la seule porte qui nous reste ouverte, une honnête et intelligente industrie."[1]

Jean Rivard believes firmly that factories (which he suggests might be situated in rural areas) could employ many of those now emigrating.

> "Une chose est au moins certaine, c'est que l'établissement de manufactures contribuera puissamment à arrêter l'émigration et l'expatriation de notre belle jeunesse, et à rappeler au milieu de nous ces milliers de travailleurs canadiens dispersés aujourd'hui dans toutes les villes manufacturières de l'Union américaine."[2]

This mention of factories forms a convenient transition to a quite different novel dealing with emigration: Jeanne la Fileuse. This story of an emigrant girl in the textile factories of Fall River, Massachusetts, written in the United States by an emigrant, shows us the reverse of the medallion. It would not be fair however to call Jeanne la Fileuse an argument in favour of emigration; it is instead a justification of emigration under the circumstances existing at the time, but with strong recommendations for the removal of those circumstances. The author admits in the preface to the first edition that he is writing an apology.

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1. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, p. 49
2. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 277

> "Le livre que je présente aujourd'hui au public sous le titre de:Jeanne la Fileuse, est moins un roman qu'un pamphlet; moins un travail littéraire qu'une réponse aux calomnies que l'on s'est plu à lancer dans certains cercles politiques contre les populations franco-canadiennes des Etats-Unis.
>
> C'est pourquoi je m'empresse de déclarer que je n'ai eu qu'un but en le publiant: celui de rétablir la vérité, tout en défendant l'honneur et le bon nom de mes compatriotes émigrés.[1]

The question in Beaugrand's eyes is a simple economic one.

> "L'émigrant franco-canadien vient donc et demeure aux Etats-Unis, parce qu'il y gagne sa vie avec plus de facilité qu'au Canada. Voilà la vérité dans toute sa simplicité."[2]

Therefore, unless this economic disparity can be removed, there is no reason to believe that emigration will stop. The emigrants are simply better off than their compatriots at home, and the knowledge of that fact leads to increased emigration. He goes on to ridicule the harrowing tales of Franco-American misery being spread by press and pamphlets[3] in Quebec: such can obviously not be the case when thousands of emigrants, only a few hours and a $10 train fare from the Province of Quebec, show no desire to return, and indeed continue to invite their friends and relatives to join them.[4]

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1. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 5
2. Ibid., p. 190.
3. See St.Pierre,T., Les Canadiens des Etats-Unis:ce qu'on perd à émigrer, 1893.
4. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, pp 222-223.

No! he states triumphantly, --the truth is that many of them are now knowing financial security for the first time.

> "Des personnes qui n'avaient connu jusque là que la misère et les privations, se trouvèrent tout-à-coup dans une aisance relative; le père, la mère, les enfants travaillaient généralement dans une même filature, et les salaires réunis de la famille produisaient au bout de chaque mois des sommes qui leur semblaient de petites fortunes." [1]

The whole of his sixth chapter in the Second Part of the novel is given over to "Les Salaires dans les Filatures"[2]. The preceding chapters include one on the history of "L'Emigration canadienne aux Etats-Unis,"[3] (drawn chiefly from Rameau's La France aux Colonies[4]) and one on the growth of "Fall River Mass.,"[5] as a French-Canadian centre. In these chapters all pretense of fiction is cast to the winds and the author gives us a factual account complete with statistical tables.

On the constructive side, Beaugrand has little to offer. He seizes upon two of the causes of emigration quoted by Rameau from the report of the parliamentary inquiry in 1856: the lack of roads into Crown Lands, and the need for factories to employ the population during the long winter

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1. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 186.
2. Ibid., pp. 259-269.
3. Ibid., Part II, Chap. I, pp. 179-191.
4. See Bibliography, Part C.
5. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, Chap.IV, Part II, pp. 228-242.

months when agricultural employment is limited. Without a change in these two respects, he has little hope of a decrease in emigration. The Government's futile efforts to repatriate families by dozens while their countrymen continue to emigrate by thousands, he deplores. Let our leaders seek to prevent the evil by an intelligent programme of expansion at home, he says, instead of trying to repair the damage by wasteful repatriation schemes.[1]

To sum up, one may say that the author of Jeanne la Fileuse is interested only in the economic aspects of the problem. For him the possible loss of nationality, of religion, or of language is of little concern. The intermingling of French and English does not disturb him; in fact, he would probably encourage such blending of races.

> "Tout ce qui tend à créer des facilités nouvelles pour les relations entre les citoyens de différents pays, pour l'échange des idées et des richesses matérielles, pour s'entendre, se concerter, s'éclairer, rendre plus intime la communauté des intérêts internationaux, devient un sujet d'une importance supérieure pour tous les peuples du monde."[2]

He alludes with pride to the speed with which the Dupuis children and Jeanne learn English;[3] he notes casually that many French-Canadians have become naturalized citizens

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1. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, pp. 259-261.
2. Ibid., pp. 216-217.
3. Ibid., pp.269, 272.

of Massachusetts[1] and he describes the secular education given in New-England public schools with startling unconcern.

> "L'instruction religieuse dans les école ne touche en rien aux formes et aux dogmes des croyances si divisées du christianisme aux Etats-Unis. Catholiques et protestants sont traités de la même manière, avec la même libéralité, et un prêtre catholique romain fait partie depuis plusieurs années du bureau des écoles publiques de Fall River."[2]

It will be realized that this attitude is absolutely without precedent in the novels of the period. In essence the author is advocating a gradual "americanization" of emigrants. There can be no doubt of this when one reads the following paragraph.

> "Le fermier qui abandonne la culture des champs pour venir avec la famille s'enfermer dans les immenses fabriques de l'Est se trouve tout d'abord dépaysé dans un monde d'énergie, de progrès industriel et de 'go ahead' essentiellement américain; mais comme son caractère paisible se forme peu à peu à cette vie d'activité, il arrive avant longtemps à se mêler au mouvement des affaires industrielles et commerciales, et à prendre pied parmi les Américains."[3]

This quotation brings us to a field which deserves a section to itself: the United States as portrayed in the novels studied.

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1. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 240
2. Ibid., p. 255.
3. Ibid., p. 190.

The United States in the Novels.

Contrasts between the American and French-Canadian ways of life have often formed the theme of articles in the newspapers and reviews of the period.[1] Their common purpose is summed up in a note appended to one of them in the Revue Canadienne.

> "Outre l'intérêt qui s'attache pour nous à tout ce regarde nos voisins, elle (l'étude) sera utile en modérant un peu l'infatuation de quelques-uns de nos compatriotes pour la république américaine."[2]

The most frequently repeated charge made against American civilization is that of materialism.

> "Tandis qu'aux Etats-Unis les esprits s'absorbent avec une préoccupation épuisante dans le commerce, dans l'industrie, dans l'adoration du veau d'or, il appartient au Canada de s'approprier avec désintéressement et une noble fierté le côté intellectuel, scientifique, et artistique du mouvement américain, en s'adonnant avec préférence au culte du sentiment de la pensée et du beau."[3]

Hence in the novels an American character may be represented as being a merchant, like the one to whom Jean Rivard sells his potash.[4] However, American characters are

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1. See Bibliography, Part C.
2. Revue Canadienne, 1897, p. 42.
3. Casgrain, R.H., (abbé), in Le Foyer Canadien, vol. IV, p.28.
4. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean-Rivard, p. 57.

rare in the novels consulted; contact with them is usually effected by French-Canadians crossing the border rather than by the opposite means. The noble and harmless Americans depicted in Les Fiancés de 1812 cannot be seriously considered here as typical examples of their race.[1]

A related evil of American life is the lack of a rigid family framework in society. P.-J.-O. Chauveau comments on this fact at some length in Charles Guérin.

> "Chez nos voisins des Etats-Unis, l'autorité paternelle se réduit maintenant à peu de chose. L'individualisme a remplacé l'esprit de famille. Chaque citoyen, satisfait d'avoir assuré à ses enfants le plus profitable de tous les héritages: une bonne instruction pratique, qui peut faire de chacun d'eux soit un cultivateur éclairé, soit un manufacturier inventif, leur abandonne le soin de se frayer eux-mêmes un chemin dans le monde, s'occupe peu de leur laisser une fortune à partager entre eux, et risque sans scrupule, dans la spéculation la plus hardie, tout leur patrimoine. L'enfant, de son côté, choisit de bonne heure l'état qui lui convient, va où il veut, souvent au bout du monde, en revient quand il le peut, se marie quand il le veut et comme il lui plaît; et quelque chose qu'il fasse, il lui vient rarement à l'idée de prendre l'avis de ses parents."[2]

This same rugged individualism is of course criticized in its relation to American Protestantism.[3]

Although material on the United States is not frequent in the novels (in Le Roi des Etudiants, Le Vieux Muet,

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1. See Marion, S., Nos trois premiers romans, p.23
2. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, p. 169.
3. See Bibliography, Part C.

Albert, etc., and in some historical novels with pre-Revolutionary scenes, such as Les Exploits d'Iberville, characters have lived for varying periods in the States), the general impression left by the novelists is such as to completely isolate Honoré Beaugrand on the basis of the passages quoted earlier from Jeanne la Fileuse. The novelists regard the United States as fairly remote from French Canada and seem to feel that Americans should be left alone in the best interests of French-Canadian society. Because of their political and geographical separateness there is not the feeling,, already noted in the case of the English, that some intercommunication is necessary or desirable. In short, the opinion might be hazarded that the French-Canadian novelists feel a certain loyalty to their English conquerors, and even a sort of familiarity with them growing out of long contact, but with the States they have little or nothing in common. In the nineteenth century, French-Canadians may have recalled more distinctly the events of 1775 and 1812 than those of 1759.

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This chapter has been written to illustrate the comprehensiveness of the novelists' contributions to the campaign against emigration. However, it is not necessary to employ so much space in stating the comparative ineffec-

tiveness of this campaign. In the preface to the second edition of Jeanne la Fileuse, we are told that the situation had by no means improved in the decade following the first edition.[1] If we consult yearly emigration statistics we see that the number of emigrants shows a noticeable decline only about the turn of the century,[2] --a decline attributable for the most part to purely economic trends. The novelists' emphasis on colonization no doubt had a desirable influence, and their voices added to the general clamour probably aided in crystallizing governmental opinion on the subject of transportation by road and rail in the 1870's. The "chemins à lisses", although an unfortunate experiment, gave evidence of an awakened interest in this direction.[3]

On the whole, nevertheless, Beaugrand is not far from the truth when he says:

> "Il est généralement reconnu au Canada que le gouvernement s'est trop peu occupé de faciliter l'ouverture des voies de communication au grand détriment des intérêts agricoles et commerciaux du pays."[4]

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1. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, pp. 1-3.
2. Langlois, Geo., Histoire de la Population canadienne-française, p. 175.
3. Articles in Revue Canadienne, 1870 (See Bibliography, Part C.)
4. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, pp. 217-218.

Thus the only alternative the novelists could offer the emigrants was beset with obstacles beyond their control. Without that practical programme, their praise of patriotism, national unity and adherence to the soil was coldly received by those who found themselves forced to leave the homeland in order to feed and clothe their families.

C H A P T E R IV

THE CITY

As one reads the French-Canadian novels of the last century it is impossible to overlook the preponderance of rural scenes over urban. More careful examination reveals that the city is almost invariably depicted as a less desirable environment than the country. In the words of F. M. Jones.

> "D'autres romanciers de cette période ont pris pour thème la nécessité de rester fidèlement attaché au sol, car seul l'amour de la campagne et de la vie rurale pouvait, selon eux, empêcher les jeunes Canadiens d'émigrer vers les villes où, au contact du libéralisme et du matérialisme de la civilisation anglo-saxonne, les vieilles vertus de la race étaient devenues lettre morte."[1]

In this chapter the novelists' portrayal of the city will be examined under three headings. First we shall mention some of the circumstances under which migration to the cities takes place; we shall then consider the novelists' picture of the city as immoral; and lastly we shall note their comparison of city and country from the hygienic and esthetic points of view.

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1. Jones, F.M., Le Roman canadien-français, pp. 144-145.

Migration to the Cities.

We have already touched on the vocational problems besetting the young student "frais émoulu du collège" in the mid-nineteenth century. Whichever of the four liberal professions he chose, he was obliged to move into the city -- usually Quebec-- to complete his studies. So we may imagine that each year the urban population was increased by an influx of eager young men, many of them removed from parental surveillance for the first time. The good curé, Father Leblanc, after warning Jean Rivard of the obstacles confronting him if he undertakes to enter one of the professions, continues:

> "Il y a enfin, mon cher enfant, une autre considération dont on ne s'occupe guère à votre âge, mais qui me paraît à moi plus importante que toutes les autres; c'est que la vie des villes expose à toutes sortes de dangers. Sur le grand nombre de jeunes gens qui vont y étudier des professions, ou y apprendre le commerce, bien peu, hélas! savent se préserver de la contagion du vice."[1]

Nor was this latter possibility any too disturbing for some of the students. The topic of frivolity and worse among city students will be covered in a later chapter; at this point let us merely signal out Victor Lormier in Le Vieux Muet, who is only too glad to be sent to Montreal on a pretext of studying. After frittering away much of his

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1. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 20.

father's money in the unhallowed precincts of the "Saumon d'Or", he is obliged to return home, and to recoup his finances; that done: ". . . il reprenait le chemin de la métropole pour retourner à ses plaisirs."[1]

The completely honest and industrious student caught in the web of city life and unable to extricate himself is Gustave Charmenil. It is interesting to note, however, that he is not blind to some of the more attractive features of city life: he enjoys the contact with the arts, and with famous men, which the city offers; he admires its architectural beauties and its technical advances over the rural community.[2] He is one of those young people of whom Jean Rivard is thinking when he speaks of encouraging the graces of city society in rural regions.

> "C'est ma conviction que rien ne contribuera plus à retenir au sein de nos campagnes les centaines de jeunes gens qui cherchent à s'en échapper aujourd'hui, que cet aspect d'aisance, ces dehors attrayants qui ont au moins l'effet d'égayer les regards et de faire croire au bonheur. C'est une idée qui peut être sujette à controverse, mais que je donne pour ce qu'elle vaut."[3]

It is Gustave Charmenil who may be permitted to introduce to us another large group of migrants to urban centres.

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1. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, p. 279.
2. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 200.
3. Ibid., p. 60

> "Quand je vois un cultivateur vendre sa terre à la campagne pour venir s'établir en ville, en qualité d'épicier, de cabaretier, de charretier, je ne puis m'empêcher de gémir de douleur. Voilà donc encore, me dis-je, un homme voué au malheur! Et il est rare qu'en effet cet homme ne soit pas complètement ruiné après trois ou quatre années d'exercice de sa nouvelle industrie."[1]

The movement of population which Gustave here deplores was noticeable throughout the latter half of the century. In 1861 the rural population comprised 85.7 per cent of the total population of Quebec;[2] to-day, the situation is almost reversed. As early as 1846, Patrice Lacombe in La Terre Paternelle had pictured the farmer Jean-Baptiste Chauvin as moving into Montreal with his family, and had added the comment.

> "Il avait en cela imité l'exemple d'autres cultivateurs, qui, chassés de leurs terres par les mauvaises récoltes et attirés à la ville par l'espoir de gagner leur vie, en s'employant aux nombreux travaux qui s'y font depuis quelques années, sont venus s'y abattre en grand nombre, et ont presque doublé la population de nos faubourgs."[3]

The classical example in the novels of migration to the city because of financial difficulties is that of Mme Guérin and Louise.[4] Driven from their lands by the ma-

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1. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 60.
2. Langlois, Geo., Histoire de la population canadienne-française, p. 184.
3. La Terre Paternelle, in Répertoire National, vol.III, p.382.
4. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, p. 268.

chinations of the unscrupulous Wagnaer, they discover in Quebec new miseries to equal or surpass those they had known before.

Having thus surveyed some of the causes of urban migration presented by our novelists, we may now proceed to their portrait of urban life.

Urban Luxury and Immorality.

One of the interesting by-paths of French-Canadian culture which may perhaps be investigated by a future historian is that of the place of luxury in French Canada. Out of the many scraps of information to be garnered in the old reviews and newspapers might be fashioned a little "Histoire du Luxe" for Old Quebec. Such a history might well go back to the earliest times: in François de Bienville we are told of Frontenac's love of good cheer, so great that he had "littéralement mangé son patrimoine,"[1] and with respect to the extravagant costumes worn by the gentlemen of the "ancien régime" we have this note.

> "Le goût des riches habits était très en vogue en Canada dès l'époque dont nous parlons. Voyez ce que La Hontan dit à ce propos. Nos gentilshommes s'efforcèrent de copier les grands seigneurs de France, dont le luxe à ce sujet allait jusqu'à la folie."[2]

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1. Marmette, J., François de Bienville, p. 32.
2. Ibid., p. 381, note.

Nor were the gentlemen the only offenders --the same author's description of the splendid costume worn by Jeanne de Richecourt[1] is one of many to be found in the historical novels.

De Gaspé père leaves us detailed pictures of the banquets of the "Anciens Canadiens"[2] --"seldom but sumptious," adding in a footnote:

> "Les mauvaises récoltes de blé, depuis trente ans, et surtout les sociétés de tempérance, ont en grande partie mis fin à cette hospitalité par trop dispendieuse."[2a]

With the mention of temperance societies we come to more modern times. Gérin-Lajoie includes in his appendix to the second part of Jean Rivard a sketch of Father Michel Dufresne (1791-1843) who founded a society against luxury, "ce chancre destructeur,"[3] In 1868, Napoléon Bourassa in an essay, Du Développement du goût dans les arts en Canada, conceded:

> "Nous avons en général, ici le goût du luxe; c'est là même une de nos faiblesses."[4]

From many such small indications it is not difficult to trace a trend towards condemnation of the luxury imported under the old régime. We have already noticed the

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1. Marmette, J., Chevalier de Mornac, p. 19
2. De Gaspé, Les Anciens Canadiens, pp. 53, 79.
2a Ibid., p. 79, note.
3. Le Foyer Canadien, vol. 2, p. 370;
4. Revue canadienne, 1868, p. 73.

taste for luxury as a cause of emigration: in 1879 J. Desrosiers delivered a lecture whose title is significant for this discussion, --Le luxe, principe d'avilissement et de décadence, and did not hesitate to ask:

> "N'est-ce pas en grande partie au luxe qu'il faut attribuer l'émigration de nos compatriotes aux Etats-Unis?"[1]

The significance of this topic of luxury for the present study lies in the fact that luxurious living is associated in the novels with city life. L.O. Letourneux, writing in 1845, explained this state of affairs by blaming the English for introducing extravagant ways into the cities.

> "Mais à mesure que le commerce anglais pénétrait au pays, le luxe et l'opulence de ces négociants s'introduisaient dans nos villes. Les cercles nouveaux qu'ils formèrent affichaient un ton de prétentieuses richesses. Puis l'armée du pays, augmentée de plusieurs régiments depuis la révolution américaine, remplissait Québec et Montréal de fortes garnisons. Les jeunes officiers qui pour la plupart appartenaient, comme aujourd'hui, à de puissantes et opulentes familles d'Angleterre, donnaient l'exemple des dépenses folles et excessives, de la dissipation et d'un luxe effréné; et ces exemples ne furent que trop suivis."[2]

The bad example set by young English officers in this respect is also noted by Joseph Doutre,[3] the wider ques-

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1. Revue canadienne, 1879, p. 346.
2. Le Répertoire National, vol. 3, p. 298.
3. F de 1812, pp. 135-137.

tion of English responsibility for introducing luxury and extravagance into French Canada is referred to by Jean Guilbault in Charles Guérin.[1] These accusations are no doubt true in part; however, they should always be considered in the light of the historical background suggested at the beginning of this section. Whether French ancestors or English conquerors, --or both-- are responsible for the condition of nineteenth-century French-Canadian cities is not for us to decide here; the fact remains that the novelists are wary of urban luxury. Extravagant living brings misery to city-dwellers.

> "On peut à peine aujourd'hui apercevoir une différence dans le degré de fortune des citoyens. Le jeune commis de bureau, dont le revenu ne dépasse pas deux ou trois cents louis par an veut paraître aussi riche que le fonctionnaire qui en a six cents; sa table est aussi abondamment pourvue; il a comme lui, les meilleurs vins, la vaisselle la plus coûteuse; la toilette de sa femme est tout aussi coûteuse; leurs enfants sont parés avec le même luxe extravagant. . .
>
> Aussi le jeune couple ne fera-t-il halte sur cette route périlleuse que lorsque le mari ne pourra plus cacher à sa belle et chère moitié qu'il a trois ou quatre poursuites sur les bras, que leurs meubles vont être saisis et vendus, s'il ne trouve immédiatement cinquante louis à emprunter."[2]

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1. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, pp.67-70.

2. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, pp. 210-211.

The problems of urban delinquency and immorality may be left to the next chapter. Suffice it here to point out that drunkenness is often cited as an urban failing: most of the tavern scenes in the novels are set in Quebec or Montreal, no doubt for the excellent reason that, from the time of mine host Jacques Boisdon[1] to the present, those centres have always contained more taverns than have the rural districts. The clientele of such establishments usually included some of those same city students of whom we spoke earlier; Gustave Charmenil, in fact, places the percentage of student drunkards somewhat higher than the most ardent exponent of temperance might care to, when he provides us with the following statistics:

> "Tu n'as pas d'idée, mon cher, des ravages que fait l'intempérance parmi la jeunesse instruite de nos villes. Nous étions dix jeunes étudiants dans la première pension que j'ai habité; nous ne sommes plus que trois aujourd'hui. Les sept autres sont morts dans la fleur de l'âge, quelques-uns avant même d'avoir terminé leur cléricature. Tous ont été victimes de cette maudite boisson qui cause plus de mal dans le monde que tous les autres fléaux réunis."[2]

It will be seen from the foregoing that the city is eyed with some misapprehension by the novelists. There is a gulf between city and country people: the peasants in

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1. Marmette, J., Le Chevalier de Mornac, pp. 6-7.
2. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 216.

L'Enfant Mystérieux distrust the city demoiselle Anna [1] and their resentment of urban supercilliousness is voiced by Marcel Giguère, mate of the smuggling ship,"L'Espérance".

> "Ces gens de Québec, quand ils sont à la campagne, se croient tout permis. On dirait qu'ils nous prennent pour des sauvages."[2]

The bitterness of his words may perhaps not be completely typical; nevertheless, no one who reads the novels of the period can fail to appreciate the distance which separates "paysan" from "citoyen".

Contrast of City and Country.

Before closing this chapter, we have yet to note some interesting comparisons of city and country life, chiefly on the grounds of healthfulness and beauty. At the two extremities of the period we are studying, in 1844 and in 1900 we find articles making such comparisons, the first by Eugène l'Ecuyer,[3] the second by R. Bellemare.[4] Among the novels, Jean Rivard offers most evidence of this type: Gustave Charmenil in his letters to Jean constantly contrasts

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1. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, vol.II, pp. 109-110.
2. Ibid., p. 98.
3. Le Répertoire National, vol. II, pp.369-379.
4. Revue Canadienne, 1900, pp. 197, 245.

city and country at the expense of the former.[1] Father Leblanc in the same novel explains the viciousness of city life in these words:

> "Dans les grandes villes, voyez-vous, les hommes sont séparés, pour ainsi dire, de la nature; l'habitude de vivre au milieu de leurs propres ouvrages les éloigne de la pensée de Dieu. S'ils pouvaient, comme nous, admirer chaque jour les magnificences de la création, ils s'élèveraient malgré eux jusqu'à l'auteur de toutes choses, et la cupidité, la vanité, l'ambition, les vices qui les tourmentent sans cesse n'auraient plus autant de prise sur leurs coeurs."[2]

Later in the book the author himself interpolates the following remarks on the unhealthiness of the city for children, a topic to be taken up in the twentieth century by Jean Charbonneau in poetry.[3]

> "Quelle différence, me disais-je, entre cette vie des champs et celle des villes, pour ce qui regarde le développement physique et intellectuel des enfants! Dans nos grandes cités, l'enfant est presque toute l'année reserré entre quatre murs. Dans la belle saison il respire l'air vicié et la poussière des rues. Combien in envierait, s'il le savait, le bonheur des enfants de la campagne, qui dans tous les ébats à travers les champs, n'aspirent que le parfum des fleurs ou l'odeur des prairies?"[4]

The arguments against unhealthy factory life noted in chapter 3 also apply of course to industrial life in cities.

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1. Gérin-Lajoie,A., Jean Rivard, Ch.X,"Le Citadin,"pp.199-203.
2. Ibid., p. 20
3. Charbonneau, J., Les Prédestinés, 1923.
4. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 275.

In Claude Paysan we meet a unique character in the novels of the period: the pale consumptive Fernande, who is filled with joy each year at the thought of returning to her country home.

> "Que c'était donc bon, lui disait-elle, l'odeur d'ici, après celle des villes. . . Là, ce n'était que de la fumée, que de la poussière, que de petits morceaux de soleil terne, puis du bruit, le jour, la nuit, tandis qu'ici. . . C'était toujours une vraie fête pour elle, son retour à la campagne et elle y pensait longtemps d'avance."[1]

In short, no better résumé of the novelists' point of view in this regard could be made than the sentence of Patrice Lacombe:

> "Heureux, oh! trop heureux les habitants de la campagne, s'ils connaissaient leur bonheur!"[2]

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There we have the novelists' picture of the city: not as complete nor as consistent a picture as we might have desired, but enabling us, nevertheless, to understand the emphasis on rural scenes which was observed as the starting point of this chapter. In the nineteenth-century novels the city is nowhere brought into prominence; not until Jean-Charles Harvey's Marcel Faure shall we find a hero who plunges unashamed into the din and confusion of city life.

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1. Choquette, E., Claude Paysan, pp. 53-54.
2. La Terre Paternelle, in Le Répertoire National, vol.3, p. 360.

C H A P T E R V

IRRELIGION AND IMMORALITY

The somewhat terrifying title of the present chapter has been chosen to "cover a multitude of sins," It would be quite impossible to enumerate in these pages all the minor allusions in our novels to irreligious or immoral conduct; the best that can be done here is to signal three or four large areas to which literary condemnation is directed. The first section, "Irreligion, Blasphemy and Profanity," will be the most general of these; that on "Free-masonry" is quite specific, dealing with only one novel. The third section bears on a limited field, that of immorality in literature; the final one treats more fully a topic we have already mentioned, that of drunkenness.

Irreligion, Blasphemy and Profanity.

The essential Catholicism of French Canada is everywhere evident in the novels. The parish church with its towering steeple forms part of every setting; in every group, the priest appears comforting and befriending all; at every hour the murmur of prayer is heard from the lips of the faithful. Small wonder then, that a firm stand is

taken against irreligion, and to a lesser degree, against Protestantism. A goodly number of sceptical or dissenting characters are converted to Catholicism in the pages of the novels,[1] but cases of decay of faith in Catholic characters are rare; one can hardly include here the picaresque novels of L.-P. Lemay, in which the original religious background of the characters is often quite vague.[2] Momentary flashes of doubt are sometimes noted in times of emotional stress, as when Jacques Hébert finds his mother's grave despoiled,[3] or when Fernande Tissot writes in her diary:

> "Il fait vraiment trop beau pour être malade, et il me semble que Dieu n'est pas bon de ne point m'accorder ma part des joies et des allégresses qu'il répand dans l'air."[4]

In general, however, the novels attestant to L.-P. Lemay's statement in Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne.

> "Sous notre ciel heureux, la foi ne s'éteint pas au souffle du scepticisme, et les églises se remplissent de croyants."[5]

Occasionally a novelist will complain of the lack of faith among young people.

> "Hélas, la mode s'est propagée, et elle existe encore de nos jours dans certains quartiers,

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1. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, pp.261-3, re Mme Wagnaer; Tardivel, Pour la Patrie, p.401-3, re Geo.Vaughan; Rousseau, Monongahéla pp.94-9, re G.Bertrand; etc.
2. Saint-Pierre in Pèlerin de Ste-Anne; Picounoc himself in P.
3. Choquette, E., Claude Paysan, p.175.---4. Lemay, Le Pèlerin de Ste-Anne, p.242. -- 5. Rousseau, La Monongahéla, p.38.

> chez certains petits jeunes gens qui se font vicieux pour être quelque chose, qui affectent de ne plus croire à rien pour prouver leur érudition , sans s'apercevoir qu'ils donnent une preuve de plus de leur ignorance. Mais vienne la mort, vienne même le moindre danger, il faut voir la terreur de ces petits maîtres. Avec quels cris de paon ils demandent le prêtre qu'ils ont poursuivi avec leurs sarcasmes, et qui vient leur apporter le pardon."[1]

The blackest villains are usually characterized by a complete indifference to religious matters: Eusèbe Asselin and his wife,[2] Victor Lormier [3] and others of their cast do not bother to pray; Antoine Bouet adds hypocrisy to indifference.

> "Il faut dire ici, par parenthèse, que ce finaud d'Antoine avait toujours le nom de Dieu sur la bouche, bien qu'il fût moins croyant que n'importe qui."[4]

In the matter of blasphemy there are no pages in any novels of the period to surpass those recording the masonic invocations to Satan in Pour la Patrie. We may note in the novels of Léon-Pamphile Lemay, however, dialogues such as the following when Zidore Rossette is invested into the gang of thieves.

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1. Lemay, L.-P., Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne, p. 51.
2. Caquette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, pp.79, 86-87.
3. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, p. 35, of vol. I.
4. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, p. 132.

"---Avez-vous peur du bon Dieu?
---Peur, non. Je le salue, mais on ne se parle pas.
---Avez-vous peur du diable?
---Le diable? C'est un ami d'enfance.
---Bravo! Vous appartenez à une société de voleurs bien honnêtes qui ne font de mal à personne, ... sans nécessité."[1]

The whole plot of Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne revolves about the dumbness of Joseph Letellier, brought on by his blasphemies.[2]

The relationship of religion and science is rarely mentioned in the novels consulted. In François de Bienville there is a brief passage which may be quoted here; the surgeon operating on Louis d'Orsy turns on Pierre Bras-de-Fer, who has arrived with some herbs.

"Vous croyez pouvoir réussir dans un cas où la science est impuissante?

---Le bon Dieu est tout-puissant, lui, monsieur le docteur; et bien souvent il se sert d'un homme ignorant et simple comme moi pour faire un miracle."[3]

Profanity is a much more common habit of characters in the novels than blasphemy. Louis XV's ancient edict against swearers and blasphemers could more often be enforced under its first heading than under its second in the pages of our

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1. P. Lemay, Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne, p. 72.
2. Ibid., chap. XII: "Le Blasphème."
3. Marmette, J., François de Bienville, p. 366.
4. See Lareau, E., L'Édit contre les jureurs et blasphémateurs in Revue Canadienne, 1882, pp.732-734.

novels.[1] It is possible to make a general statement here that the chief culprits in this regard, according to the novelists, are Englishmen and sailors. The former have been considered in their own chapter; the latter include Captain Marcheterre in Les Anciens Canadiens,[2] Gaspar Bertrand in La Monongahéla,[3] whose curé had been able to convert him but not to eradicate completely this weakness; La Gaffe in L'Enfant Mystérieux,[4] and Cacatoès in Les Exploits d'Iberville.[5] These old sea-dogs display individual vocabularies remarkable for their colour and variety: the novelists take a fairly sympathetic view of the failings of these characters, and seem to feel that any sea-going figure introduced for purposes of atmosphere in expected to swear frequently and vigorously.

The attitude of the novelists towards Protestants has been mentioned earlier, since the latter are usually English.

One interesting passage might be cited in this connection. Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne, Saint-Pierre tells his life story, in the course of which he relates:

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1. See Lareau, E., L'Edit contre les jureurs et blasphémateurs, in Revue Canadienne, 1882, pp. 732-734.
2. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 55.
3. Rousseau, E., La Monongahéla, pp. 94-99.
4. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, vol.II, p. 248.
5. Roussean, E., Les Exploits d'Iberville, p. 178.

> "J'aimais une jeune fille. Ses parents ne voulurent pas me la donner en mariage; je l'enlevai. Nous nous sauvâmes aux Etats-Unis où un ministre protestant plein de complaisance nous unit pour la vie. Le lendemain le lien de l'hymen était rompu; ça ne tient pas plus qu'un fil."[1]

This serious charge against American Protestantism is expounded at greater length in an article in the Revue Canadienne of 1898 with the title La sainteté du mariage et la comédie du divorce chez nos voisins des Etats-Unis.[2] In the novels, however, this is the only example of such an accusation.

At this point a related topic might be noted briefly: that of secular education, which for the novelists is almost synonymous with Protestant education. The Revue Canadienne for the decade 1890-1900 contains numerous articles on this question.[3] Advocates of neutral education in French-Canadian periodicals are rare to the point of negligibility.[4] For the most part, the novels do not reflect this concern with education. There is a fleeting allusion in Le Vieux Muet to the Protestant schools established by the Institution Royale in 1801;[5] in Pour la Patrie, the sceptic George Vaughan

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1. Lemay, Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne, pp. 75-76.
2. See Bibliography, Part C.
3. See Bibliography, Part C.
4. See however: Morin, A.N. De l'éducation élémentaire in Le Répertoire National, vol.3, pp.218-234; Doutre, G., Discours à l'Université McGill, in Revue Canadienne, 1874, pp. 280-285.
5. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, p. 71.

hails from Toronto, and the author explains:

> "Ce poison de l'incrédulité, il se l'était inoculé dès l'enfance, dans les écoles publiques de sa province."[1]

Honoré Beaugrand's indifference to the need for Catholic education has been illustrated earlier. He admits that French schools have been set up in Fall River.

> ". . .quoique le système d'éducation gratuite et obligatoire des écoles publiques ait toujours été un obstacle sérieux au progrès de ces établissements."[2]

and then he drops the subject. We have here an excellent proof of Louis Arnould's contention that for the French-Canadian, loss of language and loss of faith go hand in hand.[3]

Before closing this section, the novels of A. Thomas should be mentioned as examples of resistance to Protestantism on doctrinal grounds. They are less novels than theological discussions in popular form, as a glance at the chapter titles will show.[4] In his preface to Albert, ou l'Orphelin Catholique, the author states his purpose.

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1. Tardivel, P., Pour la Patrie, p. 93.
2. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 237.
3. Arnould, L., Nos amis les Canadiens, p.329.
4. The chapters include: Ch.4, "Discussion sur l'autorité des pasteurs de l'Eglise"; ch.10, "Le Chapelet--Discussion sur l'intercession"; ch. 14, "Discussion sur l'Eucharistie," etc.

> "Comme Gustave, ce livre traite de questions religieuses, questions de la plus haute importance que tout catholique doit bien comprendre, s'il veut réfuter avec facilité les arguties et les accusations lancées contre notre Eglise par nos frères séparés."[1]

As was foreseen at the beginning of this chapter, the present section has been a sort of pot-pourri of apparently none too closely related items. Nevertheless, the general impression derived from these miscellaneous observations should aid in establishing the novelists' attitude on religious questions.

Freemasonry.

Browsing through the pages of the Revue Canadienne, we notice in the volumes from 1880 to 1895 a number of articles devoted to what was then a controversial topic both in France and in French Canada, --freemasonry and its imcompatibility with Catholic ideals.[2] In the novels of the period, this subject comes to the fore only once, in J.-Paul Tardivel's Pour la Patrie.

This is a violent novel: more polemic than fiction, as the author admits in the "Avant-Propos:"

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1. Thomas, A., Albert, page v.

2. See Bibliography, Part C.

> "Pendant mes vingt années de journalisme, je n'ai guère fait autre chose que de la polémique... Qu'on ne cherche donc pas dans ces pages le fini exquis des détails qui constitue le charme de beaucoup de romans. Je n'ai pas la prétention d'offrir au public une oeuvre littéraire délicatement ciselée, ni une étude de moeurs patiemment fouillée; mais une simple ébauche où, à défaut de gracieux développements, j'ai tâché de mettre quelques idées suggestives que l'imagination du lecteur devra compléter."[1]

In the latter decades of the last century, freemasonry came into greater prominence than ever before. The international Masonic Congress in Paris in 1889 served to focus public attention on the growth of the movement. Leo XIII, in his encyclical, Humanum Genus, in 1884 had marshalled Catholic opinion against masonry: Tardivel in his novel sought to arouse French-Canadian resistance to the menace.

Pour la Patrie is unique in having its scene laid in 1945, a fact which makes it seem slightly fantastic to the modern reader. The campaign against masonry is waged with undiminished vigour from cover to cover: the difficulty of selecting any specific passage for quotation out of this welter of characters and incidents obliges us to limit ourselves to an outline of the plot, which will amply illustrate the extent of Tardivel's charges agaist masons.

The novel portrays a Conservative Canada in 1945, on the eve of secession from the British Commonwealth of

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1. Tardivel, J.-P., Pour la Patrie, pp. 11-12.

Nations. Two alternatives are under discussion in the House: French-Canadian autonomy in a separate Republic of New France and, legislative union "from sea even unto sea." The separatists are led by Dr. Joseph Lamirande, an exemplary patriot who fights untiringly for his French and Catholic ideals, even enduring the loss of his wife and daughter in the firm conviction that no sacrifice is too great if it insures a national triumph. The unionists have rallied around Sir Henry Marwood and Aristide Montarval; their policy of union, apparently so commendable, is the expression of a vast masonic organization in Canada plotting the overthrow of the Church. One of the masonic leaders, however, repents and delivers to the Archbishop of Montreal secret documents about the plot. In spite of the masons' outrageous threat to murder all the parish priests if the documents are made public, the whole conspiracy is at last revealed; but the Catholic members of the House are still not quite able to vote down the union bill until George Vaughan, a kindly and well-meaning Anglo-Saxon sceptic, is converted to Catholicism by Lamirande's efforts. Aristide Montarval, exposed as the masonic Grand Master, commits suicide and dies blaspheming.

It is interesting to note that the author attributes this monstrous state of affairs in 1945 to two French influences during the first half of the twentieth century: the influx of sceptics and hedonists from a degenerate France, and

a flood of corrupt literature from the same source.[1] Nevertheless, the strong core of Catholicism in French-Canadian life is represented as uncorroded by these onslaughts.

The absolute unscrupulousness of the masons in their lust for power is depicted as a result of their coarse Satanic worship.[2] In the fields of irreligion and blasphemy, Pour la Patrie thus marks the lowest ebb of portraiture to be found in the novels of the last century.

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1. Tardivel, P., Pour la Patrie, p. 19.

2. Ibid., p. 409, et passim.

Immorality: Literature.

A passing reference was made in the "Introduction" to the struggle of the novelists for public recognition and esteem in the nineteenth century. Of all literary genres, the novel was the last to free itself from the charge of dilettantism hurled at literature in the earlier years of the period. To risk a generalization, it might be said that public distrust of the French-Canadian novel was not so much the fault of the novels themselves as of their French counterparts. In general, French-Canadian novels of the last century are eminently moral works, yet criticism of the novel on moral grounds continued until the end of the century.[1] The prefaces of several of our novels reveal the authors's concern lest their works be classed with the "mauvais romans" everywhere in disrepute. Abbé P.E. Roy sums up the situation thus:

> "Depuis soixante ans le roman est un des plus exécrables dissolvants de la morale publique. Son nom même est devenu presque synonyme de mauvais livre. . . Il faut donc au roman, pour se faire agréer de tous, et n'éveiller aucun soupçon, un passeport sérieux, qui établisse ses titres à la confiance publique, et lui ouvre les portes, généralement closes à tout visiteur suspect."[2]

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1. See Marion, S., Le roman et le Canada-français du XIXe siècle, passim.
2. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, page iv.

Some writers even feel called upon to justify their writing of a novel.

> "Le roman, surtout le roman moderne, et plus particulièrement encore, le roman français, me paraît être une arme forgée par Satan lui-même pour la destruction du genre humain. Et malgré cette conviction, j'écris un roman! Oui, et je le fais sans scrupule; pour la raison qu'il est permis de s'emparer des machines de guerre de l'ennemi et de les faire servir à battre en brèche les remparts qu'on assiège."[1]

It is not proposed to cite any of the numerous articles from the Revue Canadienne or from the newspapers on the topic of immorality in fiction: the two quotations above should suffice to indicate the novelists' awareness of the problem. For the present study this question is of interest particularly because the novelists feel that frivolous or immoral reading matter is a powerful disintegrating influence in the lives of the youth of the nation. Many of the novelists assume (and probably quite justifiably) that their works are read by young people almost exclusively; J.-B. Caouette writes in the "Avant-propos" of his Vieux Muet:

> "Glorifier la religion, la patrie, la vertu, et être utile et agréable à la jeunesse canadienne-française, tel a été mon unique but en écrivant ce modeste ouvrage que je dédie à mes jeunes compatriotes."[2]

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1. Tardivel, P., Pour la Patrie, p. 3.
2. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, p. 1.

It is for this reason that the novelists feel a strong obligation to their society, since their influence is sure to reach the rising generation.

Leaving now the "external evidence" on this topic, let us look into the novels themselves. The allusions to novel-reading by youthful characters are usually characterized by a cautionary tone. When the future director of Quebec's educational programme wishes to illustrate Charles Guérin's undisciplined life as a law student, he pictures him spending much of his time reading "romans à la mode"[1] Of the villainous Victor Lormier we read:

> "Mais l'insensé! au lieu de lever ses regards vers Dieu, il les abaissait sur les pages des romans les plus immoraux, dont il nourissait son esprit.
>
> Ce jeune homme, bien qu'il ne priât plus, n'était pourtant pas un incroyant. Il y avait encore dans un pli de son âme une parcelle de foi: mais les mauvaises lectures avaient paralysé sa conscience, faussé son jugement et contaminé son coeur. . ."[1a]

The pages of Charles Guérin afford us two brief passages about immoral literature in general.

One of these is to be found in a naive letter of Louise's; she is speaking of her Catholic friend Clorinde, whose father, the Protestant Wagnaer, we have already met.

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1. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, pp. 82, 96, 97, 144.
1a. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, pp. 178-179.
2. Chauveau, Op.cit., p. 77.

> "Elle m'a donné de belles fleurs qui poussent dans une serre, et ell m'a prêté de jolis petits livres; mais maman ne veut pas que je les lise; elle les a mis dans une armoire, et elle me les donnera dans quelques temps pour que je les rende à Clorinde tout de suite. Cela s'appelle "Les Lettres à Sophie". Maman dit que c'est bien mauvais, et que Clorinde est bien malheureuse d'avoir un père qui ne prend pas garde à ce qu'elle peut lire."[1]

The other is a puzzling and perhaps ironical comment made with no preparation.

> "Louise faisait une lecture à sa mère. Le livre dans lequel elle lisait était du petit nombre de ceux qui avaient échappé à l'autodafé fait par l'avis du curé de la paroisse, de presque toute la bibliothèque de M. Guérin."[2]

In Les Anciens Canadiens there is a hint of early French-Canadian familiarity with the works of Voltaire. Arché de Lochiel in a passage quoted previously, cites Voltaire as a witness on the subject of English profanity, but hastens to add that he has acquired the text second-hand, through his friend LeRoux,

> ". . .qui après sa sortie du collège lisait tous les mauvais livres qui lui tombaient sous la main."[3]

If the truth be told, educated French-Canadians in his time were probably much better acquainted with the

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1. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, p. 77.
2. Ibid., p. 35.
3. De Gaspé, Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 33.

views of the patriarch of Ferney than de Gaspé, writing in the middle of the next century, cared to admit.[1]

The topic of immoral literature, using the term in its widest sense, is not extensively treated in the novels studied. As may be seen from the above the attitude on this question is a cautionary one, with the possible exception of the idea expressed by Mina Darville that novel-reading contributes sophistication to the naive.[2] The later change in her own way of life however, tends only to suggest the inadequacy of this view.

Immorality: Drunkenness.

At various points in the present study the topic of drinking has arisen. An attempt will be made in the present section to assess the novelists' contribution on this subject. That earliest of French-Canadian literary collections, the Répertoire National, includes a sketch entitled L'Ivrogne,[3] illustrating the disgust which drunkenness inspired in thinking French-Canadians. In the novels, although drunkenness is sometimes referred to as a habit of a character who does not actually appear on the scene, for example in the

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1. See Marion,S., Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois, vol.I, ch. 2, and vol. II, ch.2.
2. Conan, Laure, Angéline de Montbrun, pp. 32, 64.
3. Le Répertoire National, vol.4, pp. 157-162.

case of the O'Neill orphan's father in Le Vieux Muet [1] or of the city students mentioned by Gustave Charmenil,[2] we are seldom faced by a character "saoûl comme 300,000 Polonais,"[3] to borrow an expression from one of the novelists. The title of this chapter might be more correctly worded "Drinking", since, whereas drinking scenes are fairly common in our novels, drunkenness is rather implied than portrayed, no doubt for reasons of delicacy.

On the positive side, it should be noted that several of the more exemplary heroes oppose the use of liquor unconditionally. Jean Rivard is a strong supporter of temperance, and Jean-Charles Lormier enrolls 1,500 members in such a society which he has established.[3a] We have already noted de Gaspé père's observation on the influence of temperance societies in his time;[4] in describing the liquid refreshment available in the "bon vieux temps," he adds with aristocratic serenity:

> "L'ivrognerie était alors, d'ailleurs, un vice inconnu à la première classe de la société canadienne."[5]

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1. Caouette, Le Vieux Muet, p. 345.
2. Chauveau, Charles Guérin, p. 216
3. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, vol.I, p. 42.
3a. Caouette, Op.cit., p. 393.
4. De Gaspé, Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 79, note.
5. Ibid., p. 53, note.

This heavily qualified statement might well be interpreted to mean that guidance in this field was not entirely superfluous in the nineteenth century. In quoting J. Desrosiers on the subject of luxury we passed over a passage which deserves a place here.

> "L'intempérance est une des formes du luxe, et ce n'est pas la moins ruineuse, même en l'envisageant au seul point de vue des sommes énormes que l'on consacre chaque année à l'achat de boissons alcooliques."[1]

We are therefore dealing with a matter of some topical interest. However, the novelists' stand on the question is often lukewarm. If we except one or two distinctive characters like José in Les Anciens Canadiens,[2] and a number of dissolute individuals who include alcoholic indulgence among their minor sins,[3] we find heavy drinking in the novels limited to three classes of people: students, voyageurs and Indians.

Student drinking has already been commented upon. An extreme case of student degeneracy in this respect is that of the students in Le Roi des Etudiants, who have established their own still![4] Much of the action of this novel

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1. Revue Canadienne, 1879, p. 342.
2. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 206,
3. See the description of the brigands in Eugène l'Ecuyer's La Fille du Brigand, in Le Répertoire national, vol.3, pp. 119, 128, etc.
4. Dick, E., Le Roi des Etudiants, p. 173.

(which, by the way, opens with a student drinking scene) takes place on the site of their clandestine distillery near Charlesbourg. The author apparently feels no compunction on this score: the story closes with an elaborate argument by the student Lafleur tracing the felicitous resolution of the intrigue to his presence at the still, and arriving at the conclusion, "à quelque chose whisky est bon."[1]

The voyageurs' trip to or from the "pays d'en haut" is described in several novels, each time with a mention of the celebration in a local inn.

> "Le premier soin, en arrivant à la future capitale du Canada, était d'aller faire son engagement pour l'hiver, et de retirer une avance de gages qui était ordinairement sacrifiée à Bacchus. Nos pères, qui ne se piquaient pas de connaître leur mythologie, disaient 'à Molson'. Et Dieu sait s'ils le patronnaient, ce célèbre distillateur à la réputation éminemment franco-canadienne."[2]

For the younger members of the company the example of such orgies was not particularly edifying. As Patrice Lacombe says a trifle naively, in describing one such scene.

> "Sans tenir aucun compte des sages directions que leur donnait l'enseigne à grandes lettres blanches qu'on lisait sur la porte d'entrée 'Divers sirops pour la tempérance', la plupart étaient ivres, et faisaient retentir la salle de leurs cris."[3]

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1. Dick, E., Le Roi des Etudiants, p. 262.
2. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 17
3. La Terre Paternelle, in Le Répertoire National, p.362.

De Gaspé père in Les Anciens Canadiens makes several references to the Indians' weakness for intoxicating drink, the most famous, of course, being the scene in which Dumais buys back the captive Arché de Lochiel by promises of liquor to Talamousse, although the same bait does not attract the stoical Grande Loutre, who,

> ". . .par une rare exception, et au grand regret du Canadien, était abstème de nature."[1]

The same technique is employed by Antoine Bouet to subjugate the savage Tamahou.[2] Among the historical novels we may recall the scene in which the Chevalier de Mornac calmly ourdrinks the Indian chieftain Griffe d'Ours,[3] the latter undoubtedly hampered in this contest by his lack of the former's European culture. This passage is of special interest because of the inclusion of a fragment from a letter of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation outlining the deplorable effects of liquor on the Indians.

It will be seen from the above that the novelists incline to attribute a taste for drinking to the marginal elements of their society, and rarely to characters designed as models of behaviour. In spite of their general vagueness

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1. De Gaspé, Ph.A., Les Anciens Canadiens, p. 131
2. Dick, E., L'Enfant Mystérieux, pp. 140, 141, 155.
3. Marmette, J., Le Chevalier de Mornac, pp. 17-19.

on the moral implications of the question, it is not difficult to place them in the camp of the opponents of alcoholic indulgence, although some of them seem more or less indifferent. There is little or no attempt to make the subtle distinction between "moderate" and "extreme" indulgence, so common in our own day.

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The present chapter has been the result of an attempt to arrange in some coherent form a large number of allusions in our novels to types of immoral and irreligious conduct. On very few of these have the novelists offered clear-cut opinions or constructive programmes. It has therefore been necessary to juxtapose many passages, each of no great significance in itself, but contributing, it is hoped, to the reconstruction of a reasonably complete set of views on these subjects.

C H A P T E R VI

THE YOUTH OF THE NATION

The preceding four chapters have undertaken the portrayal of the main disintegrating influences which nineteenth century French-Canadian novelists sought to resist. As we have remarked before, the novelists have usually stated or implied that their works were directed at the younger generation, on whom they felt these disintegrating influences to be most likely to have a telling effect. It seems appropriate therefore to turn our attention in this chapter to the particular needs and problems of the youth of the nation.

Education and Vocational Problems.

First to be considered is the matter of education. In the mid-nineteenth century, the education system of the classical colleges was still holding its own against the exponents of "practical" education. E. Parent was one of the first boldly to proclaim the need for greater emphasis on social and commercial studies.[1] A generation later the need for a different type of education was realized more acutely.

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1. See E. Parent, De l'Importance et des devoirs du commerce, in La Littérature canadienne de 1850 à 1860, pp. 32-33. Huston, J., De la position et des besoins de la jeunesse canadienne, in Le Répertoire National, v.4, pp.122-156.

L.W. Tessier in an article already quoted from in another context, stated in 1871:

> "L'éducation pratique a été trop longtemps négligée dans ce pays, et si nous avons été devancés, nous Canadiens-français, par les autres origines dans l'industrie, l'agriculture, le commerce et la finance, c'est parce que nos études sont théoriques et non pratiques."[1]

At the end of the century, Benjamin Sulte still found it necessary to take the same position.

> "Si l'instruction publique était calculée pour fournir aux Canadiens le moyen de gagner leur vie, personne ne s'en plaindrait. Nos collèges sont gouvernés par des influences qui travaillent dans un but unique: faire des prêtres ou des hommes de profession. On oublie qu'il reste une masse de jeunes gens dans l'ignorance de ce qu'ils devraient apprendre. Le milieu où nous vivons exige maintenant que chacun puisse se suffire à lui-même. En n'y pourvoyant pas, nous serons distancés par les autres races -- nous le sommes déjà!"[2]

Another criticism of the highly academic instruction offered in the classical colleges was made by F.H.A. Larue in a lecture to the Société Casault on the subject Paresse et Travail.

> "Nulle part encore dans cette province, on ne voit établie sur des bases solides une seule de ces institutions si en honneur dans quelques pays, et dont le but est d'enseigner la science

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1. Revue Canadienne, 1871, p. 159.
2. Sulte, B., Histoire des Canadiens-français, vol. 4, p. 152.

> raisonnée des mouvements: je veux parler des gymnases. La force corporelle était tellement en honneur chez les anciens qu'ils l'avaient divinisée; nous modernes, nous tombons dans l'excès contraire. Espérons qu'avant peu il y aura des gymnases dans tous nos collèges et qu'ils se multiplieront dans nos villes."[1]

This suggestion is of interest to us because it finds an echo in Jean Rivard.

> "Entre nous soit dit, l'éducation physique est trop négligée dans nos collèges; on y cultive avec beaucoup de soin les facultés morales et intellectuelles, mais on laisse le corps se développer comme il peut; c'est là, à mon avis, une lacune regrettable." (Letter of Gustave Charmenil.)[2]

Most of the novelists take little interest in the college years of their characters. It is only when the young graduate is about to enter upon a career that the novelist bothers himself about his problems. Something has already been said about the treatment of the vocational issue in our novels; a short passage from F.H.A. Larue will serve to recall the topic.

> "Au sortir du collège, le jeune homme, s'il n'embrasse l'état ecclésiastique, voit s'ouvrir devant lui trois carrières, toutes aussi encombrées, toutes aussi ingrates les unes que les autres. Trois carrières! voilà le cercle étroit dans lequel tournent toutes les ambitions du jeune Canadien instruit. Il faut qu'il se résigne à se faire ou notaire, ou médecin ou avocat, hormis donc qu'il se destine à devenir d'emblée membre du Parlement Provincial."[3]

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1. Le Foyer Canadien, v.4,p. 92. 2. Jean Rivard, p. 203.
3. Le Foyer Canadien, v.4, p.74. For restatements of this problem, see Jean Rivard, p. 21, and Charles Guérin, p. 8.

The effect of this situation on Charles Guérin, Jean Rivard and their contemporaries form important sections of the respective novels. Quite apart from this initial difficulty, however, the young graduate was faced by even greater obstacles if he made a choice of one of the professions. Father Leblanc warns Jean Rivard of the fate of the numerous unsuccessful lawyers.

> "Les uns se jetteront dans le journalisme, d'autres dans le commerce ou dans des spéculations plus ou moins licites; celui-ci cherchera un emploi dans les bureaux publics, celui-là ira cacher son désappointement dans un pays étranger; un grand nombre resteront à charge à leurs parents ou à leurs amis; les autres, abreuvés de dégoûts et d'ennuis, se laisseront aller à la dissipation, à la débauche, et finiront misérablement."[1]

Emigration, destitution or degeneration; there are the fates to which many will fall heir.

> "La corruption qui faisait de si rapides progrès dans l'âme de Henri Voisin, était donc le résultat de la même maladie sociale qui avait chassé Pierre Guérin loin du toit paternel. Parmi les infortunés jeunes gens que le malheur de notre condition présente et les préjugés inhérents à cette condition forcent chaque année à faire un choix entre l'état ecclésiastique et trois autres professions encombrées au-delà de toute mesure, quelques-uns en effet, s'épouvantent, se désespèrent et s'enfuient; d'autres hésitent et tâtonnent longtemps pour n'ar-

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1. Gérin-Lajoie, A., Jean Rivard, p. 19. In this connection see Henri Voisin's long tirade on the troubles of a young lawyer, Charles Guérin, pp.70-74.

> river à rien; d'autres se consument honnêtement et laborieusement dans l'obscurité et la misère; d'autres enfin se jettent à corps perdu dans le charlatanisme et l'intrigue. L'émigration forcée, l'oisiveté forcée, la démoralisation forcée, voilà tout ce qu'on offre à notre brillante jeunesse, dont on s'efforce de cultiver et d'orner l'intelligence pour un pareil avenir."[1]

In spite of these regrettable conditions, young men in our novels continue to attend the classical colleges throughout the century; only rarely does one of them break the tradition and enter commerce as Pierre Montépel planned to do if he had not emigrated.[2] In the novels the fields of commerce and industry are almost entirely excluded as sources of possible careers for young men; all of which brings us back again to E. Parent, who in 1846 had told the Institut Canadien:

> ."Non, messieurs, l'industrie n'est pas suffisamment honorée parmi nous: elle ne jouit pas de ce degré de considération qu'elle devrait avoir dans l'intérêt de notre nationalité."[3]

There is little more that can be said here about the vocational problems of French-Canadian youth in the last century, since the novelists have gone no further than the

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1. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, p. 95.
2. Beaugrand, H., Jeanne la Fileuse, p. 135.
3. L'industrie considérée comme moyen de conserver notre nationalité canadienne-française, in Le Répertoire National, vol.4, p. 7.

passages quoted thus far would indicate. They are well aware of the difficulties, but they have no solution to offer beyond advice to return to the land; and in the words of Ian Forbes Fraser:

> "The increase in the percentage of urban population and the presence of hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians in the United States would indicate that mere restatement of the dignity and rewards of country life is not enough to keep young people on the land. One may question too, the effectiveness of the appeal to a sense of national duty."[1]

Closely related to the vocational question is one subject on which advice is constantly given to the younger generation --that of the need for hard work. The reviews of the period preserve for us a number of inspiring articles lauding ambition and effort, and whole-heartedly denouncing the sin of laziness.[2]

> "L'on a mis la paresse le dernier des péchés capitaux; c'est, je suppose, qu'on le regardait comme le pire de tous. Pour moi, ça ne souffre pas de doute. Le paresseux, à mon avis, est le plus dégradé des hommes."[3]

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1. Fraser, I.F., The Spirit of French Canada, p. 194.
2. See Bibliography, Part C.,
3. Parent, E., Considérations sur le sort des classes ouvrières, in La Littérature Canadienne, de 1850 à 1860, p. 44.

Hence M. de Montbrun's advice to Maurice Darville.

> "Mon cher Maurice, il est aussi d'une souveraine importance que vous acceptiez, que vous accomplissiez dans toute son étendue la grande loi du travail, loi qui oblige surtout les jeunes, surtout les forts.
>
> 'Travail! Dieu, vois-tu,
> Fit naître du travail, que l'insensé repousse,
> Deux Filles: la vertu, qui fait la gaieté douce
> Et la gaieté, qui rend charmant la vertu.'"[1]

Laziness is invariably included in the faults attributed to the villains in our novels;[2] on the other hand, the heroes are most energetic. Jean Rivard clears and cultivates his land at an astonishing rate; Jean-Charles Lormier, whose array of merits, it must be admitted, is almost beyond the powers of human emulation, devotes his leisure hours to a programme of intensive studies.[3]

One of the channels into which the novelists would like to see youthful energy directed is that of literary effort. Throughout the century there is an appeal for "new blood" in literary expression, but more especially was this appeal made in the opening years of the novel's career. "La paresse intellectuelle, défaut prédominant des Canadiens-

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1. Conan, Laure, Angéline de Montbrun, pp. 76-77.
2. Lemay, P., Le Pèlerin de Sainte-Anne, p.75, re: Saint-Pierre.
   Caouette, J.B., Le Vieux Muet, p.345,re: Frank O'Neill.
   Dick, E., Un Drame au Labrador, p. 25, re: Thomas Noel, etc.
3. Caouette, J.B., Le Vieux Muet, pp. 39,70,71, 294.

français d'hier et d'aujourd'hui,"[1] was considered a serious obstacle to the development of the novel, or indeed of any national literature at all. About 1850, F.M. Jones tells us:

> ". . .il semblait exister, en effet, un véritable mépris pour tout effort littéraire sérieux, dans lequel on ne voyait de la part de l'écrivain qu'un aveu de l'incapacité qu'il se sentait de faire quoi que ce soit d'autre."[2]

Hence we find Joseph Doutre trying to urge his compatriots to literary endeavour.

> "Notre but principal est de donner quelqu'essor à la littérature parmi nous, si toutefois il est possible de la tirer de son état de léthargie. Nous nous consolerons volontiers des critiques, si l'humilité de notre nom peut faire comprendre à nos jeunes amis qu'ils sont plus capables qu'ils ne le pensent."[3]

The whole question of mental and physical energy was posed in the form of a challenge by Benjamin Sulte in 1869.

> "Autour de nous s'agitent des populations industrieuses et instruites, qui professent une autre foi religieuse et qui parlent une langue étrangère... Ces populations possèdent l'instinct de l'emploi du

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1. Marion, S., Le roman et le Canada français du XIXe siècle, in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, vol. 13, no 3, juillet-septembre 1943, p. 280.
2. Jones, F.M., Le Roman canadien-français, p. 98.
3. Doutre, J., Les Fiancés de 1812, p. xx.

> temps et elles sont avides d'acquérir de l'instruction; c'en est assez pour leur donner un jour l'ascendant redoutable que nous leur laissons déjà prendre en divers lieux. Sommes-nous donc moins énergiques, et plus qu'elles appauvris de talents?"[1]

It is thus easy to see why the novelists should have given some attention, however slight, to the encouragement of energetic and ambitious qualities in the youth of the period: these qualities were essential for the preservation of the national structure.

Frivolity and Dissipation.

As the converse of the proposition enunciated above, we find the novelists condemning laziness, frivolity,, or lack of interest in a career on the part of young people. In Le Vieux Muet there is a delightful speech by the coachman Philippe on the degeneracy of the contemporary youth.

> "Ah! me disait dernièrement mon grand-père, les parents élèvent mal les enfants d'aujourd'hui! Dans le bon vieux temps les jeunes gens partaient à sept heures pour aller veiller, et ils revenaient à neuf heures et demie. De nos jours tout dela est changé: les jeunes gens soupent à la vapeur, partent de la maison à six heures et demie, se promènent avec les filles dans les rues jusqu'à neuf heures puis alors, ils vont veiller et ne rentrent au logis qu'à minuit! Ils font de même paraît-il, parce que c'est la mode... A-t-on jamais entendu parler d'une mode plus stupide?"[2]

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1. Revue Canadienne, 1869, p. 146.
2. Caouette, J.-B., Le Vieux Muet, p. 144.

A similar criticism of the younger generation, although on a loftier plane, is made by Dr. Choquette after describing the plain-living and high-thinking patriots of a few generations before:

> "Ca n'existe plus aujourd'hui vraiment, ces vieux gentilshommes sans autre blason que celui de leur noblesse d'âme. Bien que jeunes, nous sommes déjà apathiques, anémiés, nos épaules sont faites au joug, et les belles vertus qui bouillonnaient autrefois chez nos ancêtres ne nous ont laissé que des scories."[1]

The youth of the period, especially that portion of it living in cities, is frequently charged with spending its time in frivolous amusements, concerning itself little with the needs of its nation. The "Avant-propos" of Jean Rivard opens scathingly:

> "Jeunes et belles citadines qui ne rêvez que modes, bals et conquêtes amoureuses; jeunes élégants qui parcourez, joyeux et sans soucis, le cercle des plaisirs mondains, il va sans dire que cette histoire n'est pas pour vous."[2]

In Jacques et Marie the young women of the then generation are invited to compare themselves with their virtuous and industrious forbears.

> ""Ah! vous, leurs filles, qui, après avoir laissé courir longtemps vos doigts sur des claviers ingrats et vos pieds sur des tapis brûlants, durant

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1. Choquette, E., Les Ribaud, p.4.
2. De Gaspé, Ph.-A., Jean-Rivard, p. 13.

> les jours et les nuits de votre jeunesse, osez vous écrier, dans l'énervement de vos forces, quand vos enfants pleurent, quand vos domestiques ne peuvent pas assez vous servir; --Que la vie est difficile! --jugez, devant le souvenir de vos fortes mères, quelles femmes vous êtes."[1]

Joseph Marmette makes a similar comparison on the basis of physical charms: after a glowing description of Marie-Louise d'Orsy, he adds:

> "C'est-à-dire, en un mot, qu'elle ne ressemblait pas à la plupart de nos jeunes beautés d'aujourd'hui, celles des villes du moins, que l'air malsain des cités et l'atmosphère homicide des salles de bal rendent si pâles et diaphanes à l'âge qu'avait notre héroine."[2]

This latter picture was in Pierre Guérin's mind when he wrote to his mother:

> "D'abord je vous prie en grâce de ne jamais envoyer Louise à Québec, et de ne pas la lancer sans protection dans ce qu'on appelle le beau monde. Je n'ai pas la moindre envie qu'elle figure parmi cet essaim de jeunes évaporées qui papillonnent autour des officiers de la garnison."[3]

Some of the more serious aspects of youthful misconduct, particularly that of intemperance, have been treated in previous chapters. Before leaving this subject, perhaps one example of student delinquency may be cited which is re-

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1. Bourassa, N., Jacques et Marie, pp. 21-22.
2. Marmette, J., François de Bienville, p. 70
3. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin, p. 51.

ferred to in three different works --the stealing of cadavers by medical students![1] In each case the novelist mentions the practice with no elaboration, leading us to believe that such activities either were common, or were thought to be so, in the period under study!

We shall here conclude our outline of the less complimentary portrait of the youth of the nation to be reconstructed from the pages of our novels. Enough has been said to indicate that the novelists found no lack of faults in the young people of their day.

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By examining the novelists' attitude towards the youth of the nation under these two broad headings, we are able to see that the writers of the period realized only too well that the fate of their society rested in the hands of "les jeunes gens." It must never be forgotten that these novels were written for young readers, and that the authors' warnings against all the disintegrating influences studied in these pages were in reality directed at these same young readers.

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1. Chauveau, P.-J.-O., Charles Guérin.
2. La Terre Paternelle, chap. IX.
   De Gaspé, Ph.-A., L'Influence d'un Livre, pp. 81-82.

C O N C L U S I O N

In the "Introduction" to this thesis a number of questions were asked, to which, it is hoped, the preceding pages have provided answers. The "disintegrating influences" of which we spoke have been discussed, the relative importance of each being suggested by the amount of space devoted to it, which in turn was controlled by the number of passages involved in our novels. The fact that contradictory evidence on any one topic has sometimes been cited from different novels will indicate that the authors's views are not always uniform, and no attempt has been made to have them appear so. Furthermore, the present writer's opinions have rarely been offered, and never in fields in which the novelists themselves have not expressed a common view requiring appraisal.

It may be thought that a disproportionate number of these pages has been taken up with pure compilation and exposition; a glance back at the "Introduction" will show that the intention there expressed was one of revealing a particular aspect of the French-Canadian novel, but not of sitting in judgment upon the novelists. Whether or not the disintegrating influences portrayed in these novels really merit the condemnation of the novelists; whether the social,

political and moral trends there described are intrinsically evil, such are obviously questions to be answered only in terms of the frame of reference used by the novelists. For that reason a sincere effort has been made to portray each influence in terms of the basic values and ideals laid down in Chapter I. Contact with the English, the lure of industrial New England, the collective materialism of the cities, the presence of alien religious beliefs and ethical practices, all conspiring to wrench the new generation from its traditional ways; --all these influences we have tried to portray in the words, or at least in the spirit, of the novelists consulted. To criticize their position from the viewpoint of a twentieth-century Anglo-Saxon would be a violation of the self-consistency which this study has striven to preserve.

It may also seem surprising that a thesis on a literary subject should confine itself entirely to content, without expending a single sentence in examination or criticism of form and "style." If such a sentence is deemed necessary, it would be this: with a half-dozen exceptions at the most, the French-Canadian novels of the nineteenth century are poorly planned, poorly written, and display a poor culture, when compared with their European counterparts. Nor is this said without a sympathetic appreciation of the trying circumstances surrounding the infancy of the genre in

French-Canada, circumstances which have been too often referred to in these chapters to permit of our being accused of injustice in this regard. The fact remains that only a handful of these novels merit a second reading: many do not justify a first. It would not be fair, however, to denounce their authors for making the mistakes attendant upon literary apprenticeship: at the most one may reproach them for having, in their desire to "miscere utile dulci", shown themselves unskilled apothecaries; their good intentions have led them astray, and their reader is more often choked by the useful than soothed by the pleasant.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

A. General

The French-Canadian novel offers a vast territory for bibliographical investigation, -as indeed for all investigation since the works devoted to the novel are few and of limited scope. There are as yet only two histories of the French-Canadian novel, both with certain shortcomings, and both lacking in bibliographical lists of any value. Le roman canadien-français. Ses origines, - Son développement, by Frederick Mason Jones, (thèse de doctorat, Montpellier, Imprimerie de la Manufacture de la Charité, 1931, 203 p.) is concerned for half its length with our Canadian historical background, and the number of pages given over to criticism and literary history is quite inadequate, not to mention the fact that there are several serious errors in the text (e.g., on page 96, the author tells us in speaking of the French-Canadian writers before the arrival of "La Capricieuse" in 1855 that, "le mouvement romantique leur était resté totalement inconnu;" on page 101, he states Charles Guérin to have been written in 1853, whereas part of it had already been published in 1846; and so on.) Fortunately, Le roman canadien-français, by Abbé Albert Dandurand (Editions Albert Lévesque, Montréal, 1937, 252 p.), although not remarkable

for its style, is a mine of information about legends, tales, and "nouvelles" as well as novels, and is most useful as an introduction to French-Canadian fiction. It is indeed a pity that the author did not complete his worthy contribution by an index and a bibliography.

Turning now to studies of the nineteenth-century novel, we find only short articles, devoted either to a particular aspect of the novel in this period or to individual novels. During the preparation of this thesis, dozens of reviews and critical articles dealing with one or more novels have been noted. It was originally intended to include them in the bibliography to be appended here, but their number has caused this plan to be rejected; such a bibliographical survey might well constitute a separate study. A few of the more significant collections of articles which may be extracted from such a list are the following:

Casgrain, Abbé H.R. Oeuvres complètes, Montréal, C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1896, 4 vol.
t.1, pp.411-425, Etude sur Angéline de Montbrun,
t.2, pp.239-293, Philippe A. de Gaspé,
t.2, pp.431-542, A. Gérin-Lajoie d'après ses Mémoires.

Darveau, L.M. Nos hommes de lettres, Montréal, A.A. Stevenson, 1873, 276p.
Novels discussed: Les Anciens Canadiens; Charles Guérin; Jean Rivard.

Halden, C.ab der- Etudes de littérature canadienne-française, Paris, F.R. de Rudeval, 1904, civ, 352 p.
Novels discussed: Les Anciens Canadiens; Claude Paysan; Jean Rivard; Les Ribaud.

Lareau, E., Histoire de la littérature canadienne. Montréal, John Lovell, 1874, 496 p.
Novels discussed: Les Anciens Canadiens; Charles Guérin; Les Fiancés de 1812; François de Bienville; Hélika; L'Intendant Bigot; L'Influence d'un Livre; Jacques et Marie; Jean Rivard; Une de Perdue, deux de trouvées.
(Chiefly of historical interest.)

Lesage, J.S., Propos littéraires: Notes biographiques, Montréal, Edouard Garand, 1931, 257 p.
Novels discussed: Les Anciens Canadiens; Le Chateau de Beaumanoir; Charles Guérin; Les Exploits d'Iberville; Jacques et Marie; Jean Rivard; L'Oubliée; A l'Oeuvre et à l'Epreuve; Une de perdue, deux de trouvées.

Marion, S., Nos trois premiers romans canadiens-français, (Cahiers de l'Ecole des Sciences sociales, politiques, et économiques de Laval), Editions du Cap Diamant, Québec, 1943, 46p.
Novels discussed: Charles Guérin; Les fiancés de 1812; L'Influence d'un Livre.

Roy, Mgr C., Romanciers de chez nous. (études extraites des Essais et des Nouveaux Essais sur la littérature canadienne), Montréal, Editions Beauchemin, 1935, 196 p.
Novels discussed: Les Anciens Canadiens; Jean Rivard; L'Oubliée.

It should be added that the Revue Canadienne contains many noteworthy articles on novels of the period.

B. The Novels.

The following is a list of the French-Canadian novels written in the period covered by this thesis, with the chief editions through which they passed in the nineteenth century; the latter information is included for the most part only when new prefaces have been added to later editions.

Limitations of space have led to the elimination of the longer "nouvelles" like Eugène Lecuyer's La Fille du Brigand, even though some of these have been mentioned in the text. In this connection a pardonable digression might be made here to quote a most interesting paragraph on the "nouvelle" from Jean-Baptiste Bérard's Etude Littéraire on Faucher de Saint-Maurice (Revue Canadienne, 1874, pp. 914-926).

> "Aux plus petits êtres, règle générale, d'être le mieux proportionnés. De même, en littérature, pour la 'nouvelle', ce monde si borné que trois ou quatre personnages peuvent seuls s'y mouvoir à l'aise. Peu de descriptions; narration claire et presque dramatique; dialogue animé; intérêt soutenu; tels sont les caractères de cette aimable production. Au lieu d'aventures sans fin et d'épisodes à sensation, une belle et parfaite unité, une brièveté nécessaire mais efficace sont ici de rigueur. Il faut, sur ce théâtre restreint, que l'action se précipite, sans se compliquer, vers un prompt dénouement. Il faut surtout que le style de la nouvelle soit irréprochable pour qu'elle puisse charmer et vivre longtemps. La réunion de ces qualités présuppose, chez l'auteur, un talent souple et primesautier, un jugement à toute épreuve, enfin du goût, beaucoup de goût. Par conséquent, il est plus difficile qu'on ne croit d'exceller dans ce genre, et peu d'écrivains l'ont tenté avec succès. (P. 919).

Now for the novels: it will be noted that the editions from which page references have been given in the course of this study are asterisked.

Beaugrand, Honoré, (1849-1906).
Jeanne la Fileuse, Fall River, typographie Fiske et Munroe, 1878, in-12, 300p.
*Second edition with new preface, Montréal, Des Presses de la Patrie, 1888, 330p.

Boucher de Boucherville, Georges, (1814-1898).
Une de perdue, deux de trouvées, in L'Album littéraire et musical de la Minerve, 1850, and in Revue Canadienne, 1864-1865.

Montréal, 1874, 2 v. in-12, 375,356p.

Bourassa, Napoléon, (1827-1916).
Jacques et Marie, in Revue Canadienne, 1865-1866

Montréal, E.Sénécal, 1866, in-8, 306p.

Montréal, 1886, in-4, 290p.

Caouette, Jean-Baptiste, (1854-1922).
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